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**Michael Booth** is headteacher of Helmsley CP School in North Yorkshire. He holds masters degrees in history and education and is a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. He is currently studying for an International Doctorate of Education at Lincoln University.

**Emma Hawkes**, after completing doctoral studies at the University of Western Australia, taught legal history and worked on a medieval environmental history project. She is currently a researcher for the Office of Native Title with the Department of Premier and Cabinet in Western Australia.

**Martin Henig** is Visiting Lecturer in Roman Art at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford. He has published extensively on engraved gemstones and cameos and on the art of Roman Britain. **Alan King** is a freelance landscape archaeologist. He has directed a number of excavations and published on Romano-British metalwork, early agriculture in the Dales and cave archaeology.

**Kenneth Jackson** is a retired university lecturer who holds the Institute Medal of the Textile Institute and has published on economic themes within textiles. A former Chairman of the Skipton and Craven History Society, he wrote on the Sidgwicks of Skipton for the *IJH* in 2001.

**Maureen Johnson** worked in further education as a part-time lecturer in English and was joint author of a paper on William Middleton published in the *IJH* in 2000. **Bessie Maltby**, who died in 1998, was an early member of Peter Laslett's group working on parish registers and published articles in *Local Population Studies*. Both were members of the Wharfedale Local History Research Group.

**Pamela Maryfield** is a Cambridge graduate and former College Principal. She has published books on a City of London livery company and a charitable foundation. Currently she is working on a seventeenth-century diary.

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**Brian A. Smith** taught for twenty-two years in Cleveland. Early retirement has given him time to pursue his interests in photography, natural history and history/archaeology. He is a member of Teesside Archaeological Society.

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*The Society wishes it to be understood that the responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.*





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## RECENT DISCOVERIES OF PREHISTORIC ROCK MOTIFS — THE WAINSTONES SITE

By Brian A. Smith

During November and early December 2001 I discovered three large sandstone rocks in the Garfit Gap col between the dramatic natural rock outcrop, the Wainstones, and the northern end of Cold Moor, on the North York Moors, in Bilsdale Midcable civil parish (Figs 1, 2). Prehistoric markings were evident on their surfaces. Assisted by the low angle of the sun's rays at this time of year, it was possible to see cups, grooves and rings that were consistent with rock motifs seen at established 'rock art' sites in Northern England. These rocks exhibit similar levels of severe weathering to examples seen on Brow Moor, near Ravenscar, on the eastern fringes of the North York Moors (Beckensall 1999, 65).

The Garfit Gap is the truncated remains of a valley, the head of which once existed further to the north, before the Jurassic hills (sandstone overlying soft shales) were eroded back to their present position. Erosion of the soft shales still continues, eventually undermining the hard capping of sandstone, creating valleys and cutting back the scarp face. The rocks that are the subject of this paper are from this layer of Jurassic sandstone. Jet-mining waste tips and the direct quarrying of sandstone rocks have altered the landscape since the stones were marked, and may have resulted in the burying or loss of petroglyphs.

The nearest site possibly of this period, two Bronze Age burial mounds, appears to be in the next col between Cold Moor and Cringle Moor, 1.25 kilometres (*c.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile) in a westerly direction, at NZ 545 032. The nearest recorded cupstone is on Kildale Moor, 7.25 kilometres (4.5 miles) north-east at NZ 612 087. Two circles, one with a central cup, have been pecked into an orthostat in Park Dyke (Spratt 1993, 85–86, table 16). This table shows the nearest exposed, earthfast boulder with motifs to be in Baysdale, 8 kilometres (5 miles) ENE at NZ 632 068. This boulder has two cup-and-ring marks.

### ROCK 1. NZ 556 036

The initial discovery, in quite poor light, was on the top surface of a huge earthfast block of rock, adjacent to the low-level route of the Cleveland Way / Lyke Wake Walk, below and west of Hasty Bank and the Wainstones. This rock is benchmarked and has '1772' and the initials 'FF' and 'JG' carved on its northern vertical surface (Figs 1, 2, 4, 5).

The top surface of Rock 1 is approximately rectangular. It measures 5.63 metres along its southern edge and 3.96 metres along its eastern edge. Its maximum height above the surrounding ground level is at the north-west corner at 1.22 metres. The lowest point is along the eastern edge at 15 cm (Fig. 3).

Although covered in the carved graffiti of recent history, the essentially horizontal top surface had arrangements of circular hollows that were entirely consistent with the 'cup-marks' seen at established prehistoric rock-art sites in northern England (Fig. 6).

Further visits, in strong, low sunlight, revealed more cup-marks and the possibility of artificial grooves and partial rings. There are at least twenty cup-marks on Rock 1.

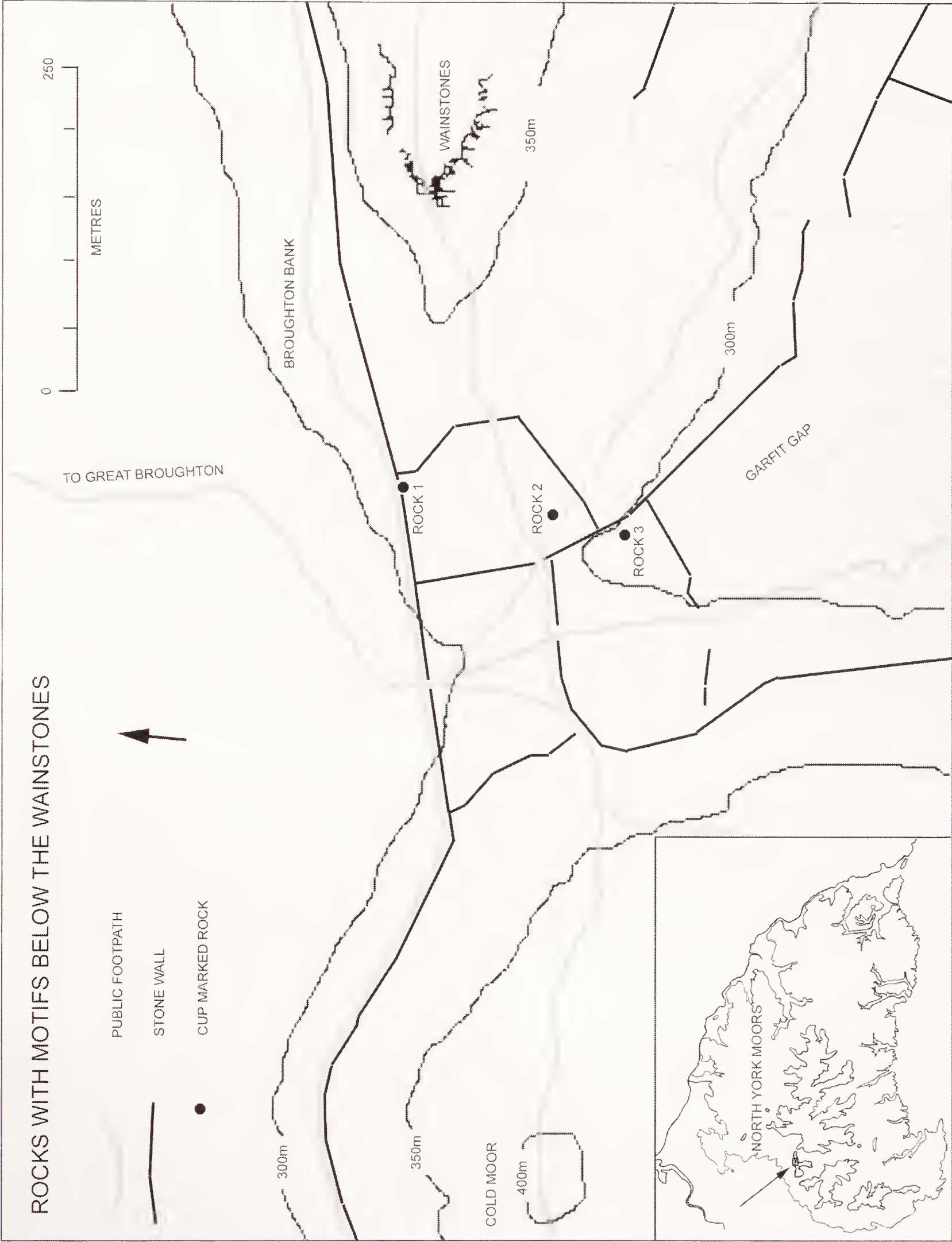


Fig. 1. Rocks with motifs below the Wainstones.



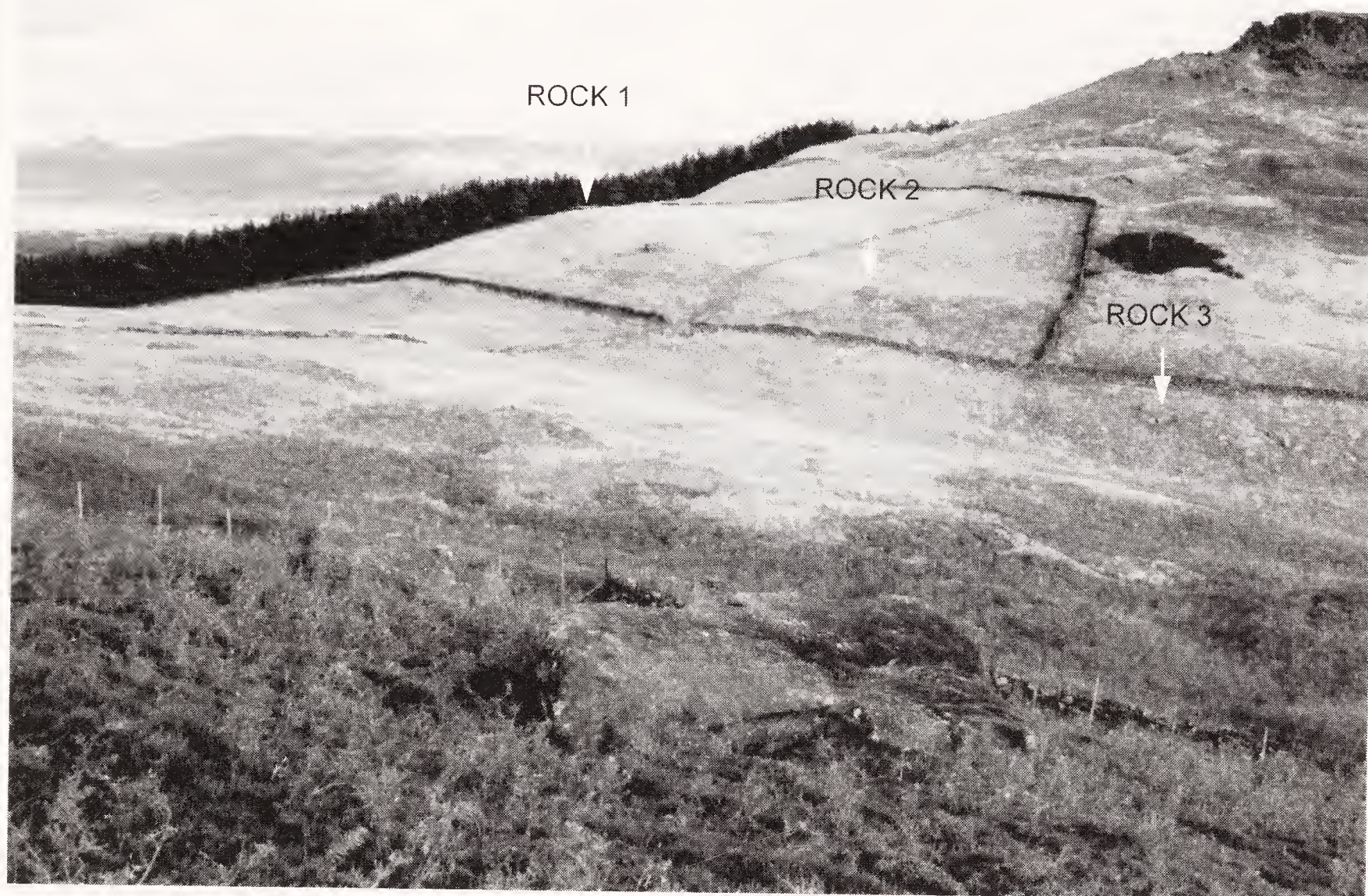


Fig. 2. Location of cup-marked rocks from south-west side of Garfit Gap.

#### ROCK 2. NZ 556 035

In the southern part of the same field, over 100 metres south of Rock 1, lies an angled earthfast rock on ground sloping down to the west. The long northern edge measures 5 metres. The western edge measures 3.65 metres. Rock 2 rises from ground level at its western edge to a maximum height of 84 cm at its narrow eastern extremity (Figs 1, 2, 3).

Clearly visible towards the north-east corner of Rock 2 are two pronounced cups. The easternmost cup is partly surrounded by a gapped ring or penannular. A complete ring encloses the adjacent cup (Fig. 7). Less clear are a group of cups on the lower, western slope. Indeed, it was only in low December sunlight that five more cups were discovered, some appearing to have surrounding rings (Fig. 8). There is another single cup in the middle of the rock. In April, with the sun higher, a further group of cups were identified: a row of four, with two below, along the vertical face of the northern edge. This means that there is a total of fourteen cups on Rock 2 with more possible.

#### ROCK 3. NZ 556 034

Fifty metres south of Rock 2, and on the other side of a field wall, lies Rock 3. Like Rock 2, this lies on ground that slopes down to the west. Earthfast Rock 3 rises from ground level at its western extremity to 1 metre above ground level at its south-east corner. It is on this highest south-east area of Rock 3, on a sloping surface, that a cluster of four cups is to be found, one being less distinct than the rest. This tight cluster, each cup approximately 5 cm in diameter, is partially enclosed by a curved groove (Figs 3, 9). There are no other motifs on Rock 3.



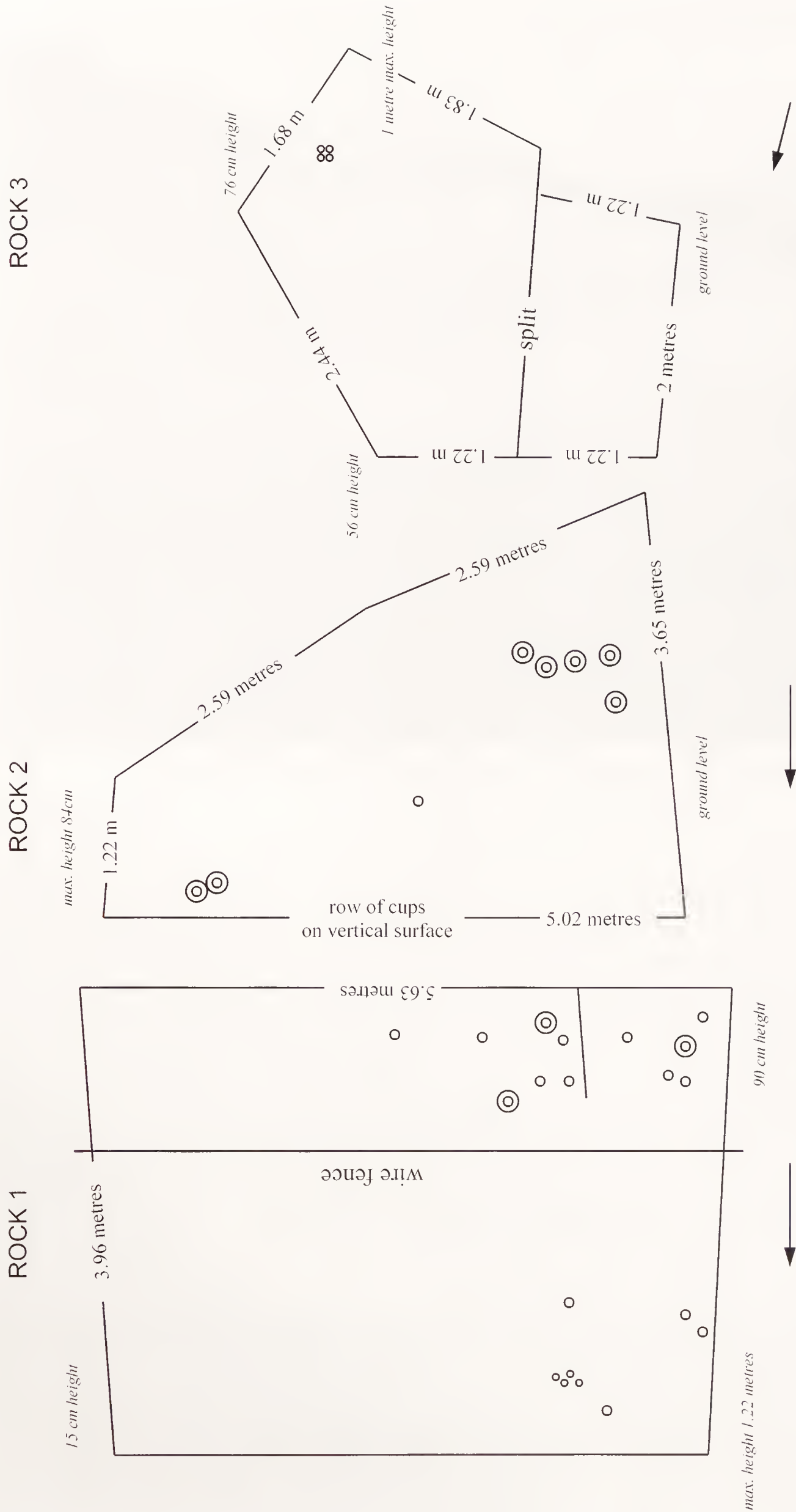


Fig. 3. Simplified shapes and comparative dimensions of rocks with motifs in approximate positions.





Fig. 4. Rock 1 beside bottom path with view west towards Cold Moor.



Fig. 5. Looking east and upwards towards the Wainstones from the south-west corner of Rock 1.





Fig. 6. Five cups, one with faint ring, at the south-west corner of Rock 1.



Fig. 7. Two cups with rings near the top north-east corner of Rock 2. The view east is of the Wainstones.





Fig. 8. Cups with rings on lower (western) part of Rock 2.



Fig. 9. Rock 3 showing cup cluster and view south towards Bilsdale.



## FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

1. These rocks rise in height from the furthest south Rock 3, which lies below the 300-metre contour, to 303 metres above sea level for benchmarked Rock 1 to the north. Rocks 3 and 2 are intervisible, but rock 1 is (just) hidden by a rise in the field from Rock 2.
2. The number of cups increases from Rock 3 (four) to Rock 2 (fourteen plus) to Rock 1 (twenty plus).
3. All three rocks have (or had — the view from Rock 3 is now obscured by the stone wall) clear and dramatic views upwards and eastwards of the Wainstones. Such a view may have been possible when the motifs were made.
4. These rocks are close to major footpath routes (Figs 1, 2), some of which may be of prehistoric origin. These routes are either east–west along the chain of the Cleveland Hills, or north–south through a high-level pass known as Garfit Gap linking the broad expanse of the Tees Lowlands with Bilsdale. (Rock 2 noticeably projects above the skyline when approached from the hollow way entering the col from the north-west. An old route into Bilsdale passes below this rock.)
5. This site is on the extreme northern fringe of the North York Moors.
6. Several exhaustive searches of rocks were made in the Garfit Gap area for further motifs. So far nothing substantive has been found, other than a possible single cup on a rock 300 metres south-east of the site. With dozens of rocks to choose from, why have these three been selected?
7. Tees Archaeology's sites and monuments records for the area of former Cleveland County, to the north and east, show the total number of cup-marked stones to be sixteen in January 2002. Most, if not all, of these are portable stones associated with Bronze Age burial mounds. A list of cup and cup-and-ring stones for the whole of north-east Yorkshire (Spratt 1993, 85–86, table 16) again shows the vast majority of stones to be portables, such as barrow kerbstones. Of forty-three sites listed, only six sites have carvings on exposed earthfast rocks.

These observations have been included to show how aspects of this site mirror current views on the locations chosen for rock motifs on exposed, earthfast rocks within the landscape. For example, in accordance with Observation 5, Don Spratt (1982, 88–89) noted that most marked rocks are found in regions on the periphery of the hills, at the edges of moorland.

Richard Bradley, Professor of Archaeology at Reading University, who has studied hundreds of sites, both in the British Isles and in France, Portugal and Spain, concluded that the marking of selected, exposed rocks was a means of disseminating information. Such rocks often appear to be associated with important routes, through passes in a hill landscape, for example (Bradley 1997, 120). This view resembles Observation 4. Professor Bradley describes the phenomenon as 'signing the land'.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Stephen Sherlock and Blaise Vyner, of Tees Valley Archaeology, for their encouragement, advice and assistance. Thanks also to John Brelstaff and Sue Lane for their help in searches of rocks.

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## TWO ROMAN INTAGLIOS FROM CRAVEN

By Martin Henig *and* Alan King

During research on the museum collection at the Craven Museum, Skipton, an amethyst intaglio measuring 13 mm by 10 mm with maximum domed thickness of 5 mm was drawn to our attention. This gemstone was donated to the museum in August 1934 by Mr Tom Hargreaves of Embsay, Skipton; the findspot was entered in the museum accessions ledger as 'Wennigber'. Locating '-ber' placenames meant focusing the search on the drumlin swarm between Hellifield and Gargrave, though to complicate matters the western part of the present Craven district is drained by the river Wenning, a tributary of the Lune. The issue was resolved when it was realized that some months prior to the excavation of the Bronze Age burial cairn at Lingber Hill, Hellifield (NGR SD 874575), in 1885 an amethystine intaglio was found on the site (Figs 1, 2).

A few months previous to these [Bronze Age] discoveries Mr. Hargreaves junr., of Wenningber, the adjoining farm, found in the gravel a beautifully incised gem of amethystine quartz, which

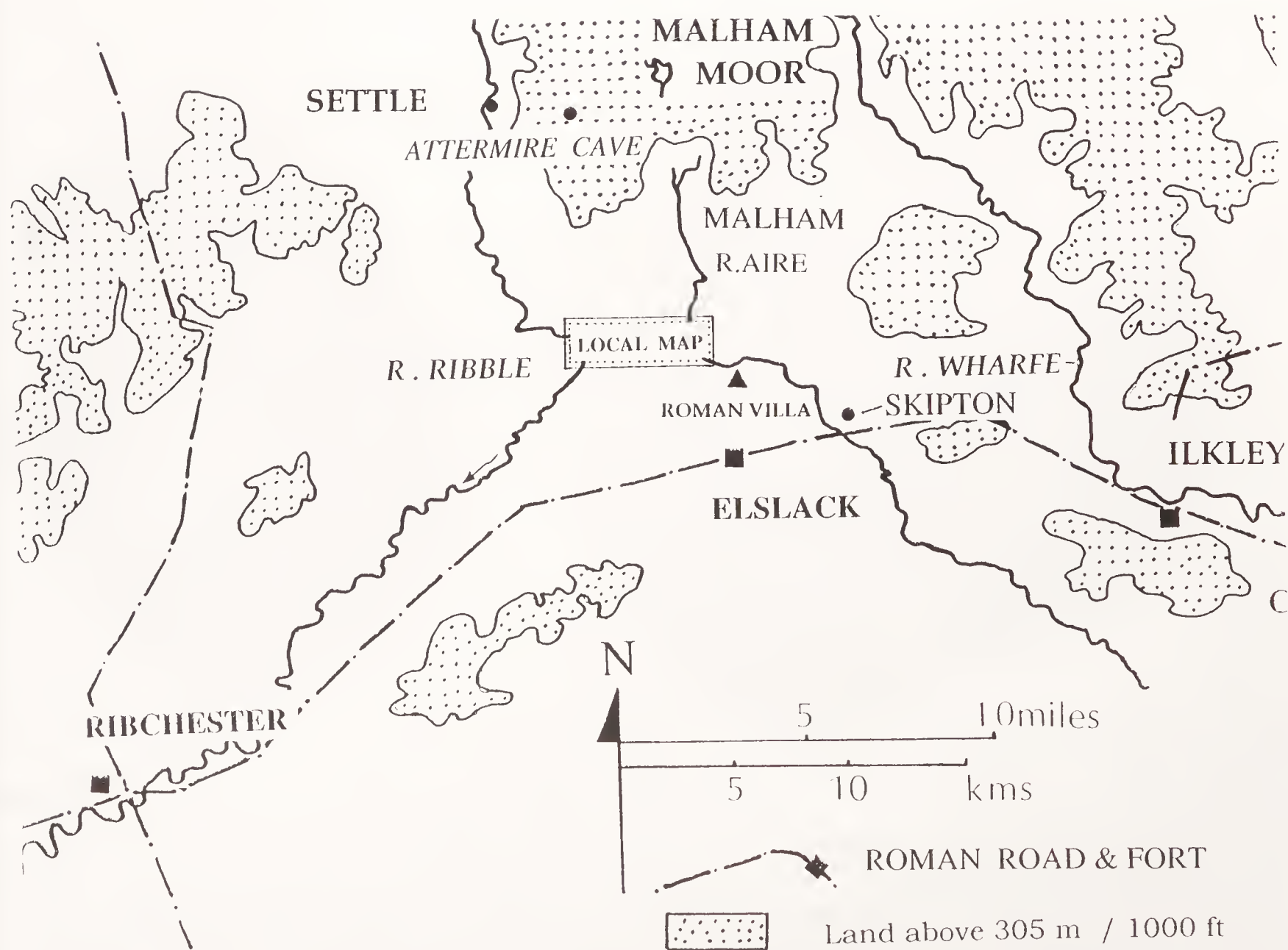
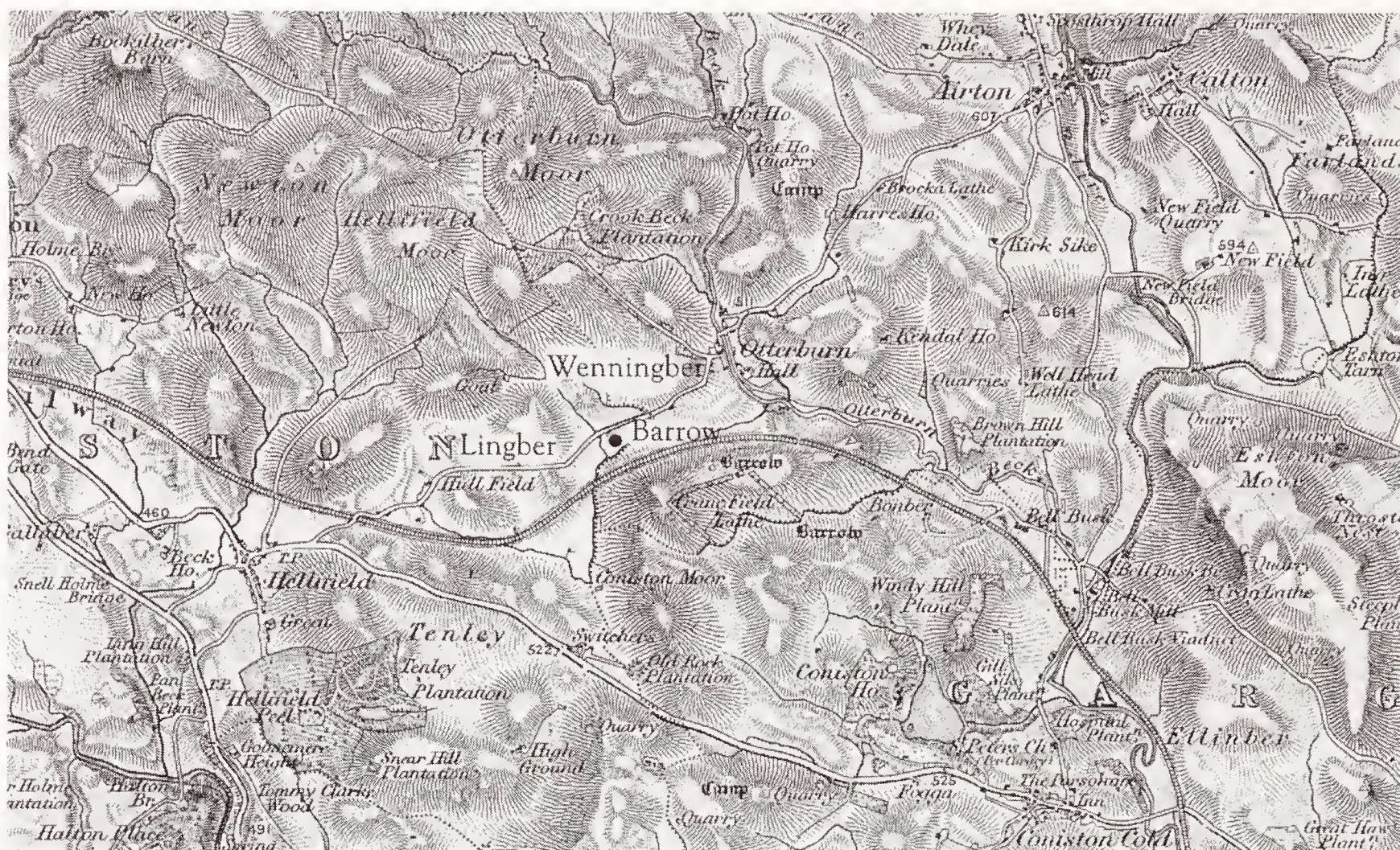


Fig. 1. Location map showing Roman features. By A. King.





This 'Local map' is a portion of the Sept 1857 OS map. Drawn then One inch to the mile.

Scale now

0 1mile.

Fig. 2. Local map reproduced from 1857 one-inch Ordnance Survey map.

Dr. Evans, F.R.S., President of the Society of Antiquaries, pronounced to be of good Roman workmanship . . . . The subject is difficult to interpret. (Speight 1892, 310)

The subject is at the present time unique in Roman Britain (Fig. 3). It depicts Ulysses standing to the right (impression described), identified by the close fitting leather cap (*pileus*) which he wears on his head, coupled with a short tunic worn in such a way as to leave the right arm and shoulder bare (*exomis*). These garments were generally the garb of workmen (and of the smith-god Vulcan), but were also the usual dress of this particular hero. Below the right arm at the level of the belt, a circular object might be a water flask. In his right hand he holds a shallow vessel probably to be understood as a kylix. In his left hand he holds what looks like a spear at forty-five degrees to the body, though what appears to be the lower projection of this weapon may be intended to be the scabbard of his sword, hanging from his belt, a feature on other gems depicting the hero.

There are, indeed, a number of comparanda in various collections. These include a glass intaglio in Göttingen, in which the hero likewise holds a spear as well as a cup (Gercke 1970, no. 263). A couple of cornelian intaglios in Munich also depict Ulysses holding out a cup (Brandt 1970, nos 839, 840) while a glass gem in the same collection (Schmidt 1970, no. 1366), confirms that Ulysses is handing the vessel to the man-eating, one-eyed Cyclops, Polyphemus. On a plasma in Copenhagen (Fossing 1929, no. 916) Ulysses is shown with a cup and a wine-skin with which he will replenish supplies. The subject of Polyphemus being plied with wine until inebriated and his subsequent blinding with a firebrand was popular in art (Toucheffeu-Meynier 1992, esp. 955 for gems). It is





Fig. 3. Amethyst intaglio from Wenningber now in the Craven Museum. Photo by A. King.



Fig. 4. Jasper intaglio from Attermire Cave with (right) an impression. Photo by J. W. Jackson.



just possible that the spear with its somewhat rounded head was meant to suggest the firebrand.

The style of cutting incorporates a few rounded pellets for facial features, the ends of the spear etc., comparable with those seen on coins of the later first century BC, a style which Kleibrink (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 145) calls the 'extinguishing pellet style'. All



the comparanda cited are of the same period. There is no knowing when the gem reached Yorkshire but it may have been quite early, perhaps at the time of Cartimandua's client kingdom when south Gaulish samian pottery and other exotic imports were reaching Stanwick and other sites in Yorkshire. An intaglio of this quality and early date has to be regarded as a very special offering on a site which continued to have religious significance.

The gemstone material, amethyst, was thought to be of the colour of wine and to be a specific against drunkenness. The suitability of the stone to the legend depicted is not in doubt and for the original owner the stone might have been a protection against the fate of Polyphemus; that of being overcome by drunkenness.

A second high status, but not totally exceptional, intaglio (now in the collection of T. Lord) was excavated at Attermire Cave (NGR SD 850641) in 1930 by members of Settle Naturalist and Antiquarian Society, and reported in a lecture given on 24 April 1931 to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society by Dr J. W. Jackson. It measures 16 mm by 12.5 mm (Fig. 4).

This gemstone features a two-headed combination of Silenus's head (left) conjoined with that of Minerva in a crested helmet (right). The device is disposed along the short axis and executed more carefully than a very similar example from Kirmington, Lincolnshire (Henig 1974, nos 374, 375). Both are carved in red jasper, as are three comparable French intaglios — respectively from near Poitiers, from between Giroux and Luçay-le-Libre (Indre) and from Sourdon (Seine-et-Marne) — published by Guiraud (1988, nos 895, 896, 899).

Red jasper, the colour of life and blood, and both Minerva and Bacchus (with his followers such as Sileni) were seen to be protective and so connected to salvation. The deposition of this stone, and presumably its mounting, was in a cave passage which has yielded a wealth of Roman period artefacts, including silver and copper-alloy fibulae, a 600-mm wrought iron lamp stand and lead lamp-bowl, iron axe hammer, sword mount and a range of mortaria, samian and coarseware pieces (Richmond 1948; King 1970; Branigan and Dearne 1992, 72–74).

All these finds were probably deliberately selected as votive offerings at this cave sanctuary. But this gem exhibits heads of two particular gods regarded as extremely powerful and additionally continued the native cult of venerating heads at such locations.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to thank Andrew McKay and the staff at the Craven Museum, Skipton, for initially drawing attention to the gemstone in their care and for all their subsequent help.

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# THE ROMAN VILLA AT BLANSBY PARK, PICKERING: EXCAVATIONS AT THE PARK GATE ROMAN SITE IN 2000

*By* Lorna Watts, Andrew Jones *and* Philip Rahtz

## INTRODUCTION

### PREFACE

This report describes an excavation in June–July 2000 on a Roman villa at Blansby Park, near Pickering, in north-east Yorkshire, north-west of the Roman fort at Malton (Fig. 1). The villa is at the southern extremity of a complex of prehistoric and Roman sites in the Park, extending over several square kilometres. The principal buildings are on the edge of the flood plain of the Pickering Beck, one of a number of rivers draining from the North York Moors into the Vale of Pickering. One of the buildings examined, probably the bath-house of the villa, is located very close to the river itself.

The villa is one of several centred around Malton (Fig. 2) in the hinterland north-east of York, and the most northerly of villas in this part of England, though the well-known late Roman signal stations extend further north up the coast. The nearest villa to Blansby Park is at Beadlam, in a similar riverside location (Neal 1996); this is the only villa in the group north-west of Malton to have been extensively excavated, and of which part has been left visible and consolidated.

It is generally assumed that villas such as Blansby Park and Beadlam were the nuclei of large estates exploiting arable and other resources of the Vale and Moors, not least for markets at Malton and York. Extended discussion of such matters is beyond the scope of this report.

### THE PARK

Blansby Park (Fig. 3) was formerly a deer park associated with Pickering Castle. This is referred to in 1297, when it was estimated to be 6 miles (9.5 km) in circuit. An earlier fence was washed away in a great flood in 1326; this was replaced in stone in the seventeenth century. As well as its association with the castle, there was a royal interest (Page 1907, 512–17; Rimington 1971, 6–16).

The park as now defined extends over 6 sq km, principally on the south edges of the Tabular Hills, but extending south down into Newton Dale, and across the Pickering Beck. The Park is now owned by the Duchy of Lancaster, and is part of the North York Moors National Park.

There are a considerable number of archaeological features, earthworks and finds. The first recorded excavation in the Park area was in 1961 (Rutter 1973). There were also minor investigations in later years by Raymond Hayes and others (Hayes 1988, 46–47 and 52).

A large part of the Park is farmed by Richard and Edward Harrison of West Farm. Over the later decades of the twentieth century, they recovered a mass of archaeological material from the ploughsoil, ranging in date from the Neolithic period to post-medieval times.

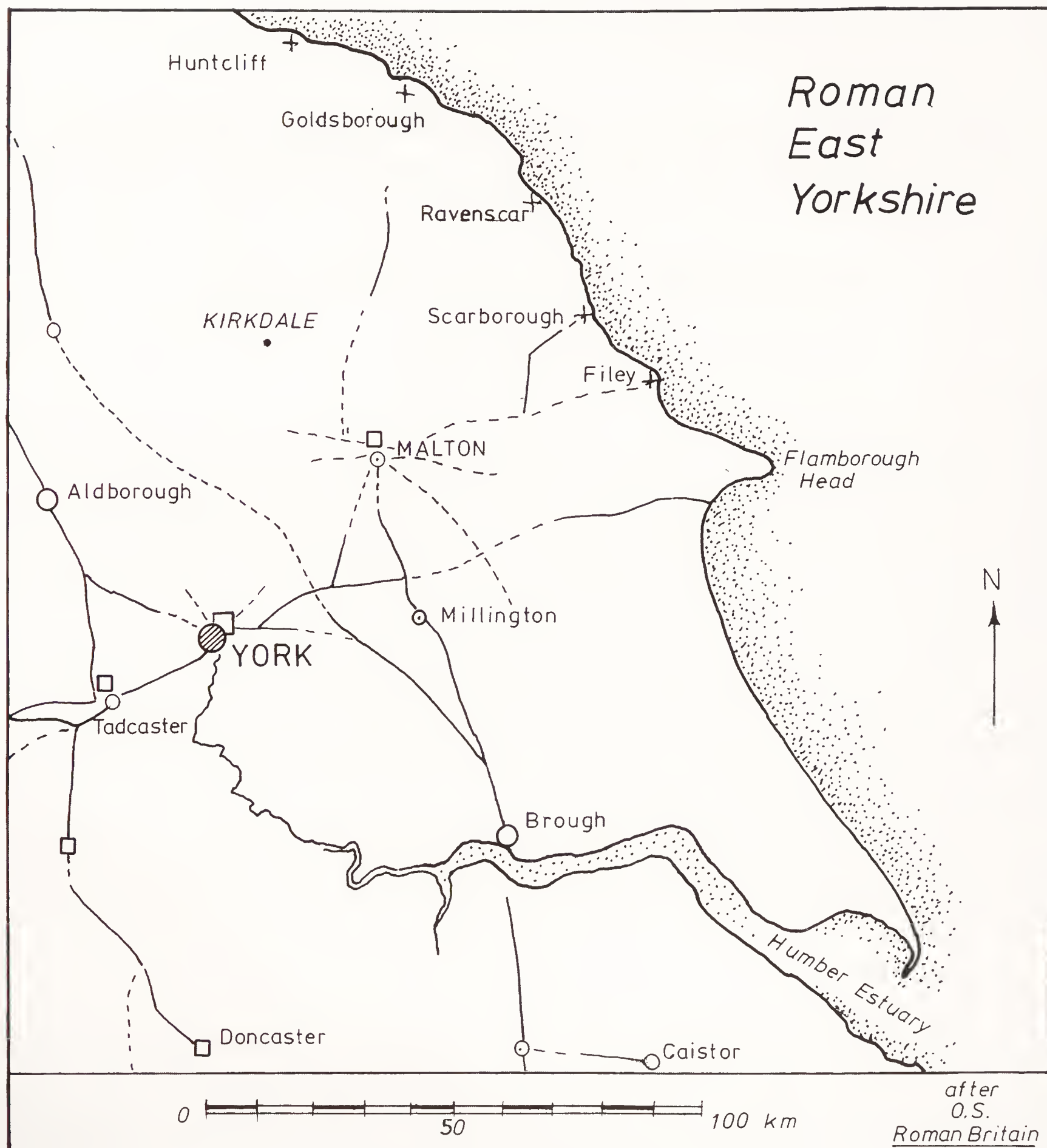


Fig. 1. Roman East Yorkshire.

### PARK GATE (SE 8083 8575)

At Park Gate, an entrance in the south-west corner of the Park, there is a large field, most of which is part of the flood plain of the Pickering Beck (Fig. 4). The western boundary of this field is a ruined stone wall; this continues northwards into the higher ground as the present western limit of the Park. Piled on its east side are many tonnes of stone cleared from the field over a long period. Its north boundary is a track.

In 1995 the National Park, through its archaeologist, Graham Lee, commissioned a geophysical survey in this field (WYAS 1995). This exhibited some linear features, a large circular structure (*c.* 14 m in diameter) and a number of discrete anomalies; these features



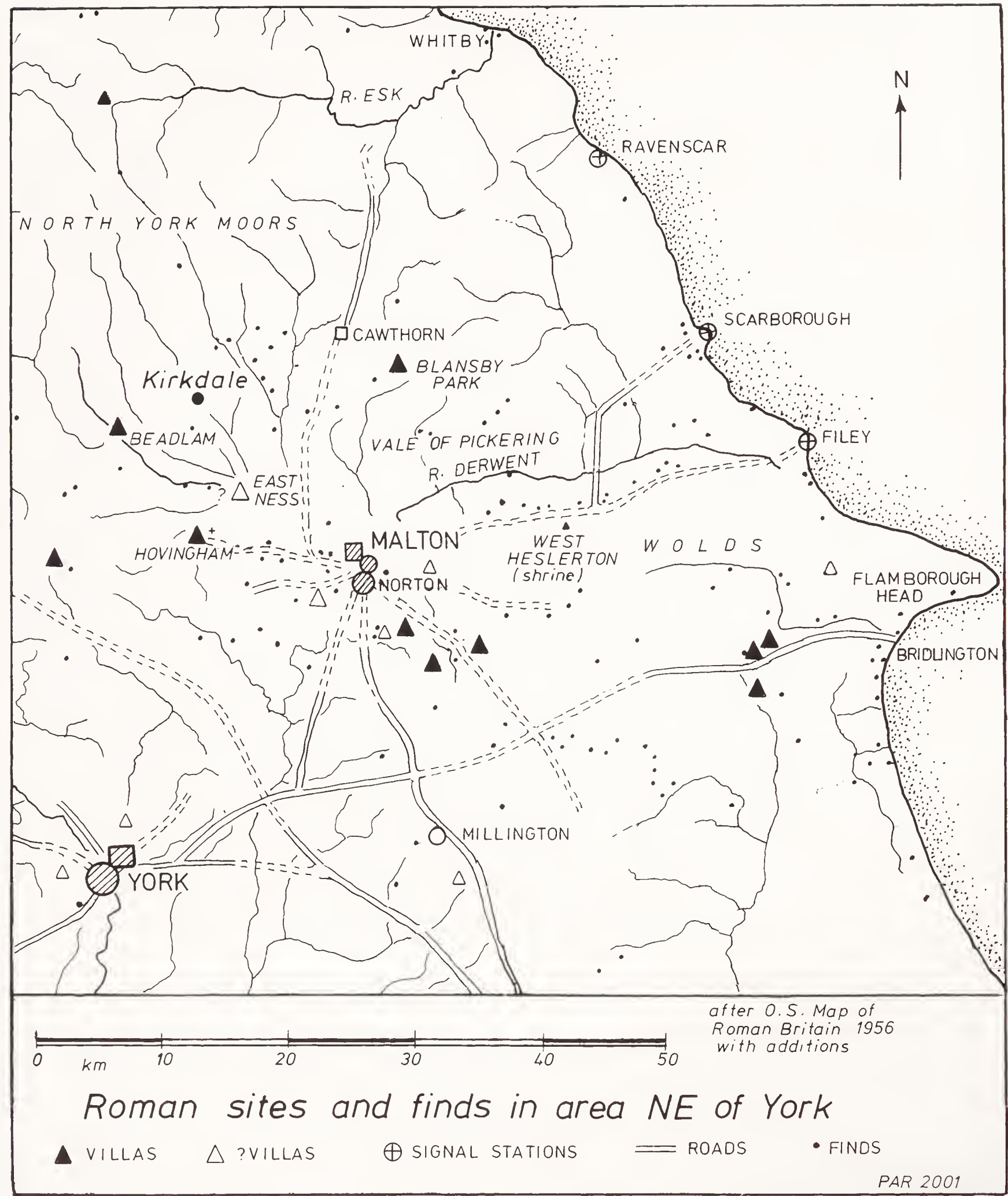


Fig. 2. Roman sites and finds in area north-east of York.

were discerned in both gradiometer and resistivity survey. This field is now bounded on the south side by the North York Moors Railway. It was not known in 1995 whether the Roman site extended beyond this.

Beyond the railway, between it and the Pickering Beck, is a smaller area of pasture. In the autumn of 1999 numerous tesserae were being thrown up by moles. It was then



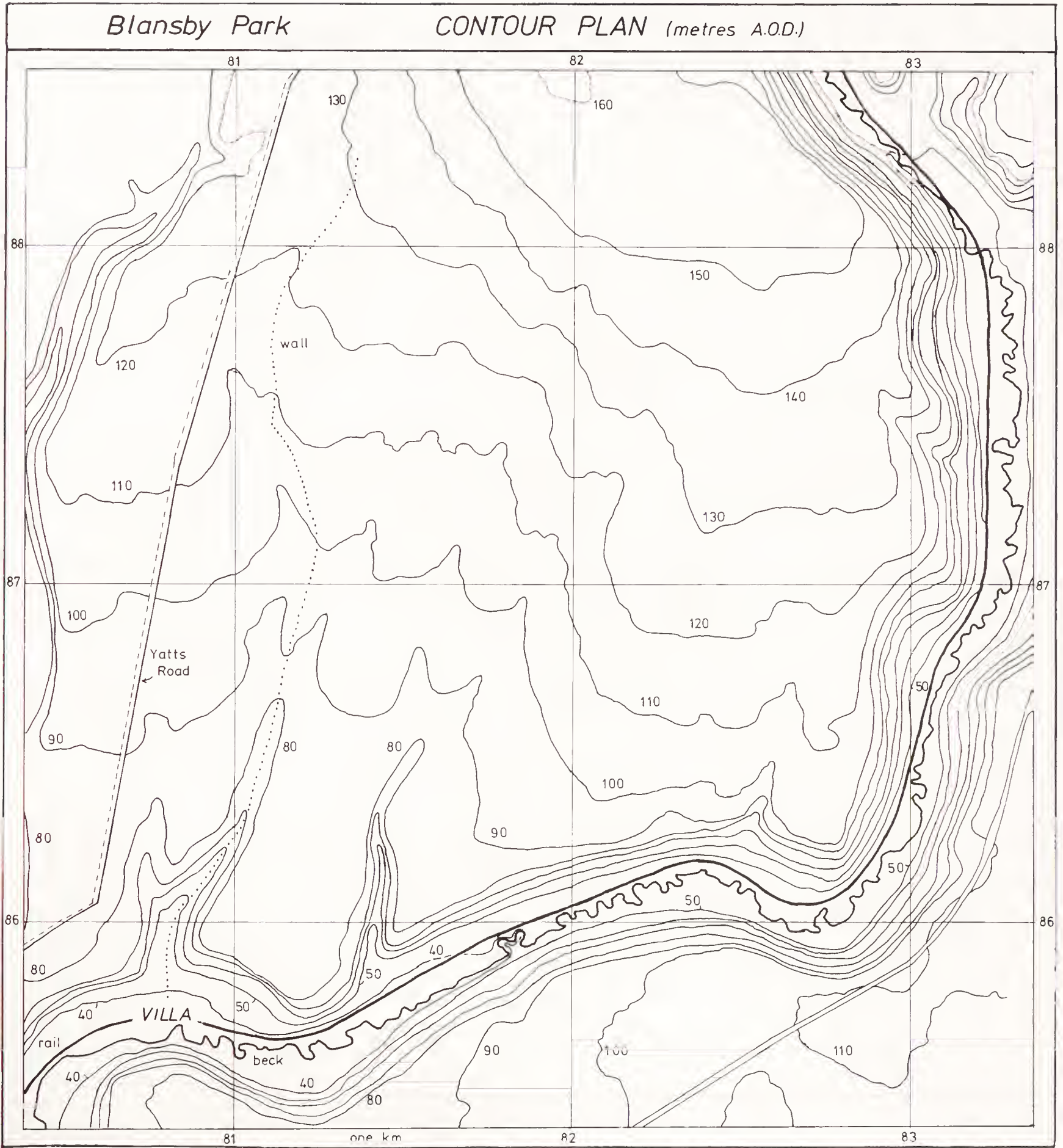


Fig. 3. Contour plan of Blansby Park.

evident that the Roman structures did in fact extend beyond the railway down to the banks of the beck.

The line of the Park western boundary wall continues as a low bank through this pasture field. The alignment of the boundary in these two adjacent fields is not straight. It deviates slightly in a reversed S (Fig. 4). This suggests that the boundary was set out on the course of an element of a medieval ridge-and-furrow system. There is apparently thus at least one phase of ploughing between the abandonment of the Roman site and the Park boundary in its present form.

\* \* \* \* \*



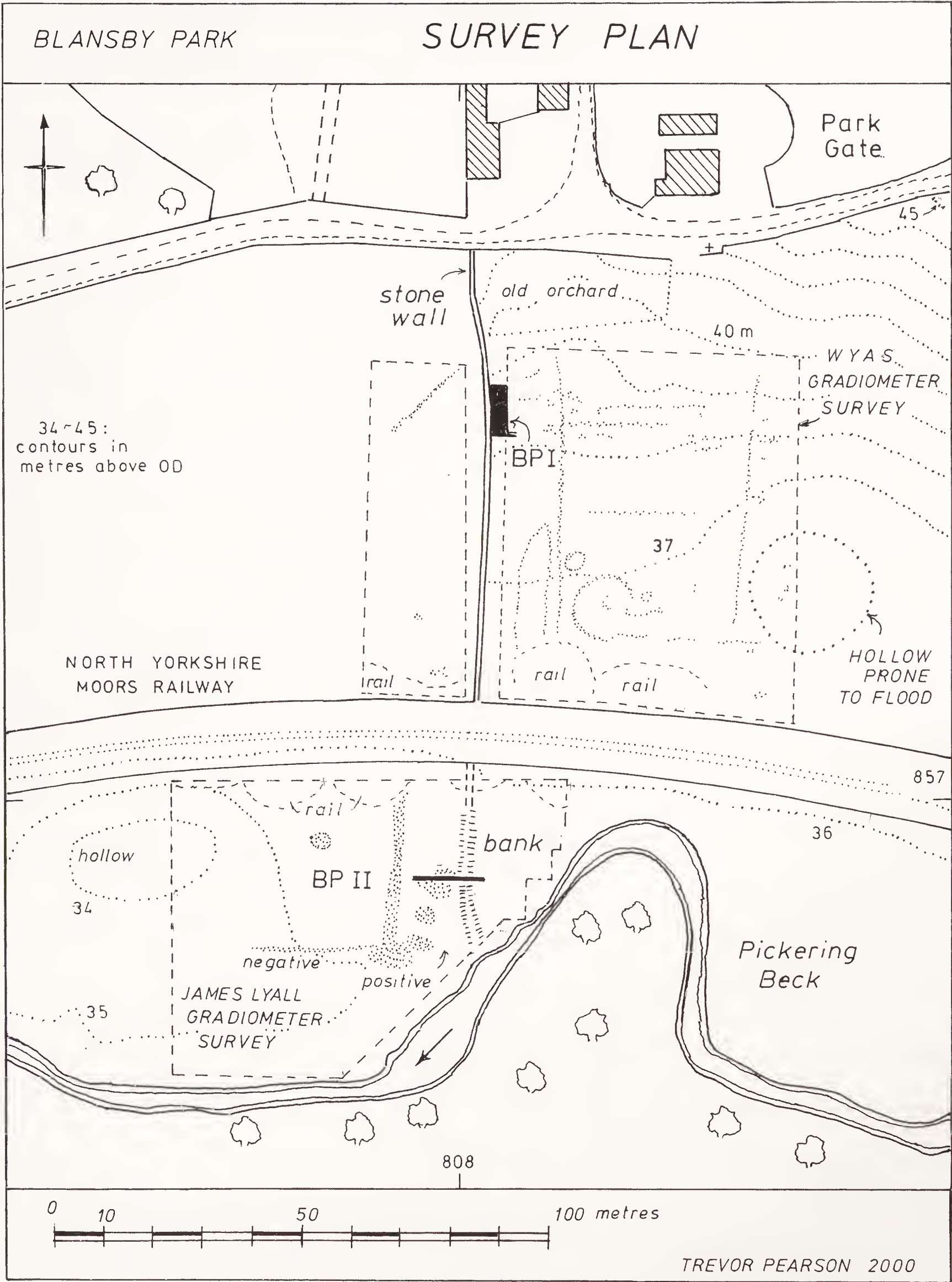


Fig. 4. Survey plan (Park Gate area).



Two evaluation excavations defined the Roman contexts in relation to the deposits of the Pickering Beck of Post-Glacial time, and to the Park western boundary, now a stone wall and bank. The trenches recovered a wide range of structural and other material, and a sample of associated flora and fauna; a Roman building located by the beck is probably a bath-house.

The excavation project was directed by Lorna Watts and Philip Rahtz; Andrew (Bone) Jones (BJ), directed the scientific aspects of the archaeology, and enlisted the support of the University of Bradford and the York Archaeological Trust.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are indebted to the Harrisons for their invitation to carry out a limited investigation on the Park Gate site. We were encouraged in this initiative by Graham Lee, the archaeologist for the National Park. He has for a long time regarded Blansby Park as of especial importance in the archaeology of the National Park as a whole. We were helped by generous grants by the National Park, the Department of Archaeology of the University of York, the Roman section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the CBA, CBA Yorkshire, and the Ryedale District Council.

In the excavation we received very positive assistance from Richard Harrison, who arranged a licence to dig from the Duchy of Lancaster, which owns the land. The work was carried out by volunteer helpers (see list below); these included some of the Helmsley Archaeological Society and a team from the Scarborough Archaeological Society under the leadership of Chris Hall. Trevor Pearson of the Scarborough Society and English Heritage kindly took on the survey of the topography of the Park Gate area (Fig. 4); James Lyall of the Heslerton Landscape Research Project kindly made gradiometer and resistivity surveys of the pasture field south of the railway, to supplement the earlier geophysics of the main field commissioned by the National Park in 1995 (Fig. 4). We are grateful to the specialists who have examined the finds:

Dr John Senior, University of Durham (examination of the petrology of the statue and other stones).

Sandra Garside-Neville (ceramic building materials)

Dr Hugh Wilmott (then at University of Durham, now Sheffield) (late medieval glass vessel)

Jim Halliday (identification of brooch)

Dr Craig Barclay, Yorkshire Museum (coins)

Ian Lawton (Roman pottery)

Daniel van den Toorn (drawing the finds)

Andrew Jones would like to acknowledge the help of those who helped on the scientific work: Drs Peter Addyman and Richard Hall and Messrs David Brinklow and Martin Stockwell of the York Archaeological Trust loaned sieving equipment and steel toe-capped Wellington boots and sponsored the transport of equipment to and from the site.

Jo Brehaut carried out the surveys of vegetation and co-ordinated lists of invertebrates and vertebrates.

Sam Bolton, then a final year Bioarchaeology student, University of Bradford, co-ordinated the sampling strategy. Drs Carl Heron and Cathy Batt, Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, provided coring equipment and advice on dating techniques. Harry Kenward, Dr Allan Hall and John Carrot of the Environmental Archaeology Unit, University of York, loaned sieves and bolting cloth (mesh) and provided recording forms. John Watt, volunteer and Master of the Bulk

Sieving Apparatus, managed the processing and sorting of bulk samples with characteristic efficiency and thoroughness and provided valuable packaging materials.

## LIST OF VOLUNTEERS

Madge and Jon Allison	Virginia Lloyd
Brian Antoni	Derek Lockstone
Mick Atha	John Lihou
Stephen Bence	Lucka Pastuchova (Czech Republic)
Rachel Cubitt	Matthew Rahtz
Chris Evans	Bonita Roworth
Katherine Day	Jen Ryan
Tom Fawcett	Allison Sharpe
Lynne Gray	Ann Taylor
Chris Hall	Robert Thorley (photography)
Susan Hall	Jim Thornton
Debby Haycock	Tanya Wall
St John Hooper	Basil Wharton
Edna King	Elissa Zacher

## INTERIM AND FULL REPORTS

An interim report was published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 2001 (Rahtz *et al.* 2001), and a summary is in *The Ryedale Historian* (Rahtz and Watts 2002). A full report is being prepared for the Internet.

## THE EXCAVATIONS

### AIMS

Two limited interventions were made in May–June 2000, one in the main field north of the railway (BP I), and the other in the pasture field by the beck (BP II, Fig. 4). The aims of these excavations were:

1. To define the relationship of Roman structures and strata to the Park western boundary wall and its continuation south as a bank.
2. To characterise the range of material used in the Roman structures, and other associated finds; to ascertain the dating of the use of the area in Roman times, and the condition of what survives below the ground.
3. To explore the relationship of Roman and later levels to the alluvium of the floodplain and any possible colluvium in the northern part of the site; and to see if there was evidence of earlier use of the area in pre-Roman times.
4. To examine the alluvium itself from a scientific aspect; and in general the geomorphology of the beck and its valley system.

These aims were in general realised, but there are obviously severe limitations to the degree of generalisation that can be made from such limited excavation.

### THE FIELD NORTH OF THE RAILWAY

Understanding of this field is limited to the geophysical survey (WYAS 1995), the results of a small excavation in 2000 (BP I, described below), the Harrison collection from the ploughsoil and a mechanical cut of 2001, done to assist drainage of the hollow there (Fig. 4 on east side): the latter provided evidence of a major wash-out of post-Roman times.

The ploughsoil in this field yielded a variety of finds of Roman and later centuries: much stone and Roman tile resulted from ploughing of Roman structures. The finds are



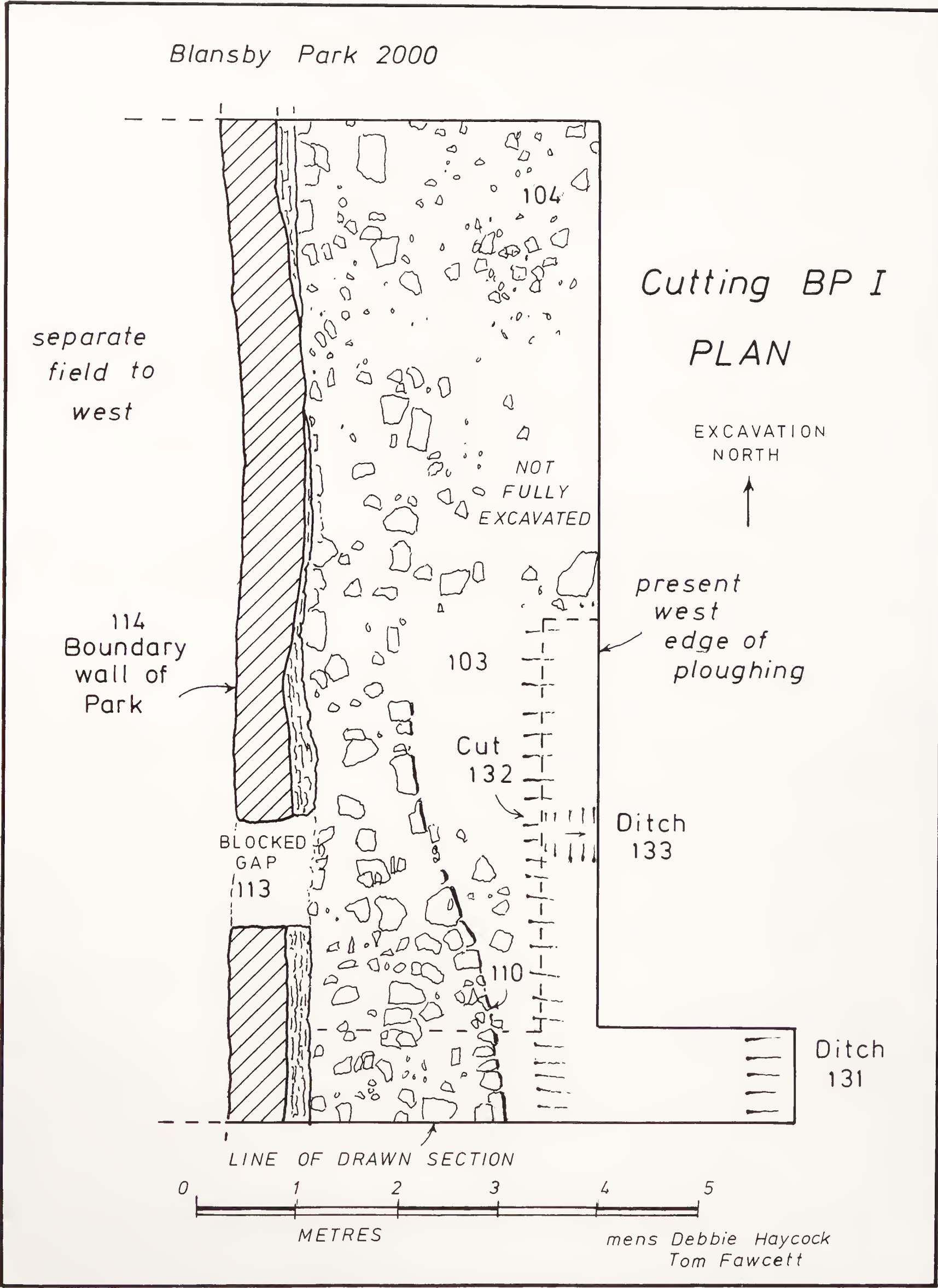


Fig. 5. Cutting BP I, plan.



illustrated and described later in this report (coded BP I, 101). Notable among them were parts of a large Roman millstone from a mill powered by traction or water-power (Fig. 16); two fragments of a small statue made of a stone originating in Italy (Fig. 18); third- and fourth-century Roman coins (see below); and fragments of an unusual fifteenth- or sixteenth-century German glass vessel (Figs 25–27).

The statue fragments and later medieval German glass indicate the high status of the settlement in both Roman and later medieval times.

### BP I: DESCRIPTION

This cutting was on the east side of the Park boundary wall; the latter was ruinous, with a blocked former gap (Fig. 6). Piled against it was a mass of loose stone; removal of this resulted in definition of coherent stone setting or revetments (Fig. 5), on which were a few medieval sherds; these were cut by a former edge of the plough soil.

The southern metre of the cutting was cut down to and into the natural subsoil (Fig. 8). On the latter were a well-defined dark brown soil and limestone pieces, thickening to go well under the Park wall. In this latter were a few later-fourth-century Roman sherds, and a coin of Valentinian I (AD 367–75). To the east the dark layer deepened into a Roman ditch (131, Fig. 7); another small ditch or boundary feature marked the northern limit of the Roman horizon (133).

#### *Discussion (BP I only)*

Although the bad weather conditions prevented a full excavation of the area of Cutting BP I, its main aims were realised. Although apparently on the edge of the main Roman



Fig. 6. BP I. Enclosure wall with blocked entrance, from north-east.



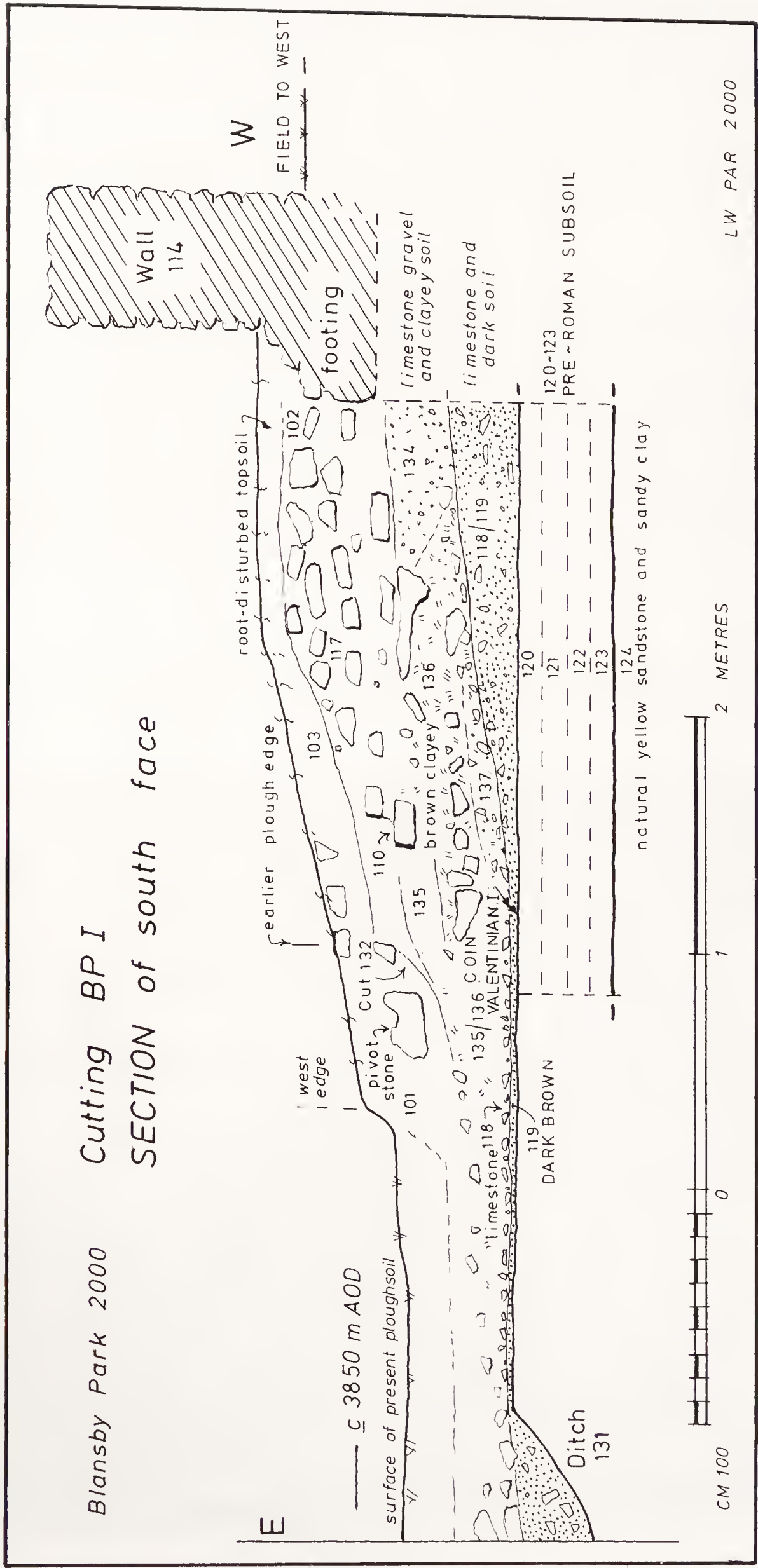


Fig. 7. Cutting BP I, section of south face.





Fig. 8. BP I. Section under enclosure wall at south end of cutting, from east.

building complex, the Roman occupation level was clearly defined, and useful dating evidence was recovered: that at least part of the complex survived the Constantinian era, and was in use in the last decades of Roman administration.

It was shown also that the Roman contexts in this part of this field lie below the limits of current ploughing; an occupation horizon is intact, and also features cut into the subsoil.

The character of the subsoil and natural below them in this area was defined for the first time, and their relationship to the present western boundary of the Park.

Finally, it was shown decidedly that the Roman horizon was substantially stratigraphically below the Park wall, and continued beneath it into the field to the west — a conclusion left uncertain by the geophysical survey in this field.

## BP II: DESCRIPTION

### *Introduction*

The moles in this area had been active over an area of *c.* 50 x 50 m, bringing up over a hundred tesserae. A gradiometer survey by James Lyall defined a series of anomalies over the same area (Fig. 4). The trench intersected two of these, as well as the north–south low grassy bank continuing the line of the stone wall Park boundary down to the beck.



As was anticipated, it was soon clear that there was a major Roman structure here. Tile, mortar, stone and tesserae extended below the topsoil over most of the whole of the 15 m of the trench. In a short excavation of ten days, in very wet weather, it was not possible to excavate the whole trench to the natural.

In the main part of the trench (Fig. 9) features included a small part of a hypocaust bounded by an eastern wall (1019), a series of ditches and 'lowered' areas, and the ruined stone core of the Park boundary wall ensconced within the bank.

### *The Stratigraphic Sequence*

The eastern 10.40 m part of the trench was excavated to (and a little into) the pre-Roman subsoils; in the western 4.60 m of the trench only the upper part of the Roman contexts was excavated. In the main part of the trench there was a complex and deep sequence of Roman and later contexts. These included the fill of a destroyed hypocausted area and its bounding wall, and the fills of ditches and 'lowered' areas to the east. The stratification is discussed in three areas: the shallow area at the west end of the trench, the hypocaust area and the area to the east of this. An outline plan and section of the whole trench is shown in Figure 9; detail in the western part in Figure 10; and detail in the hypocaust and the area to its east in Figures 11 to 13.

### *Pre-Roman Contexts*

The subsoils are based on flood-plain deposits of Newton Dale, deposited by the Pickering Beck. The basal stratum encountered in the excavation was a yellowish, sandy, gravelly clay (1050). Over this was a similar deposit (1027), although more gritty and dark grey. This had originally been over a metre thick, the result of 'recent' alluviation. On this had developed a subsoil of dark greyish-brown silty clay (1047). This was seen in only one small area, east of the hypocaust wall (1019), capped with a dark brown 'velvety' layer (1046) which is interpreted as a pre-Roman subsoil. The latter survived in this one spot because it was protected by being so close to the east face of the wall. No archaeological finds were recovered from these pre-Roman contexts.

The beck (flowing east-west) has, over its long history, meandered in its course, creating oxbow lakes. It varies in its flow. When high, this has resulted in the deposition of alluvium or, in extreme flood conditions, the washing-out of accumulated strata. It was not always possible in the excavation in the easterly part of the trench to distinguish between humanly-cut ditches or terraces and those resulting from wash-out from the upstream flow. This was particularly true of the deepest area at the east end (1051). This may be the west edge of a large ditch, or of a wash-out; but, whichever it was, it was open in Roman times (below).

### *The West End of the Trench*

Here, excavation was restricted to the upper half-metre of the stratification (Fig. 10). At the extreme of the trench, the subsoil (here named 1007 and 1006) was encountered, with rough paving stones on its surface (1009); a shallow post-hole (1008) is probably part of a later fence.

The surface of 1007/1006 is probably, in level, close to that of the Roman surface, and similar to that surviving further east. The rough paving 1009 was presumably on the exterior (west of) the building unit further east; it should give a maximum west-east dimension of this unit of c. 7 m externally or 6 m internally.

Further to the east, no subsoil was seen; all the material removed in this part of the trench (1010, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1021) constituted successive definitions or densities of



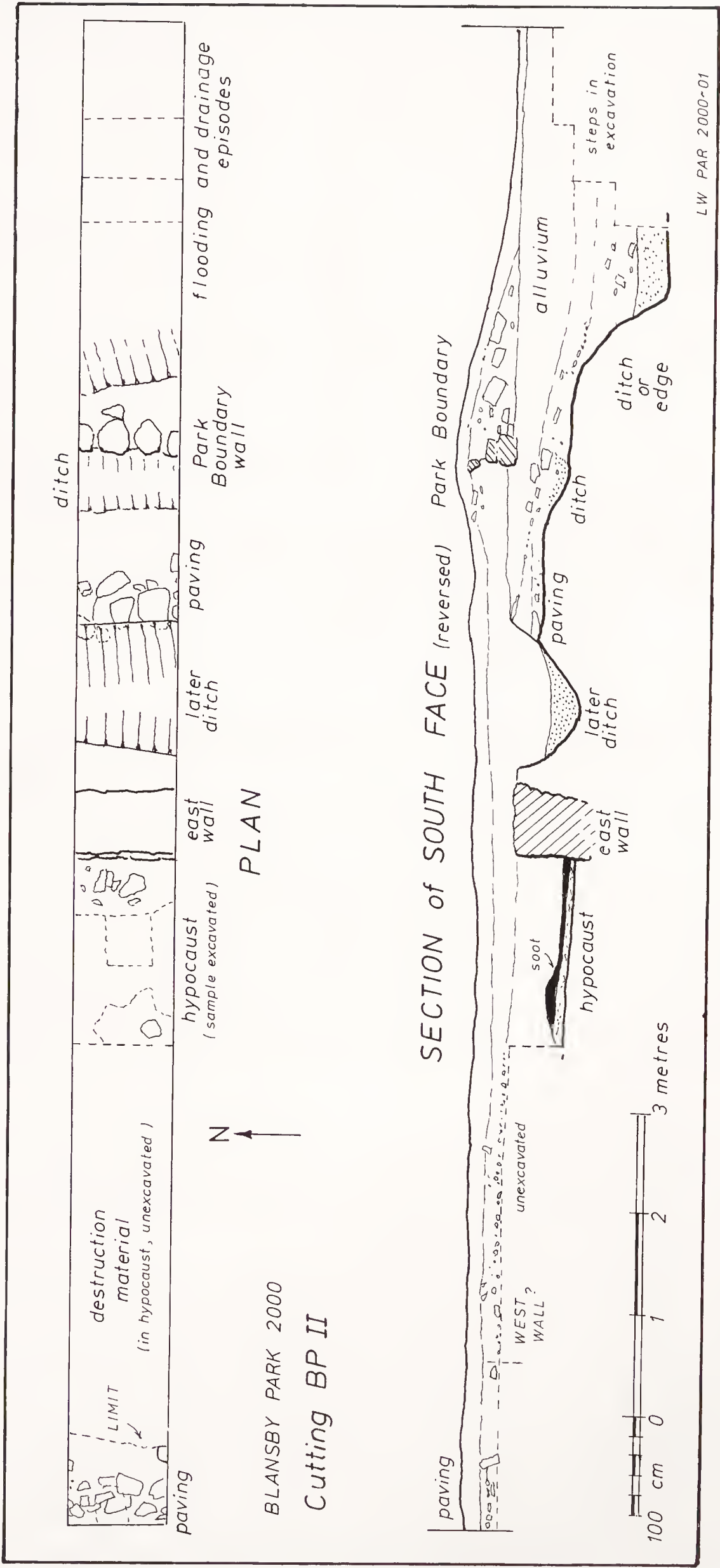


Fig. 9. Cutting BP II, summary plan and section.



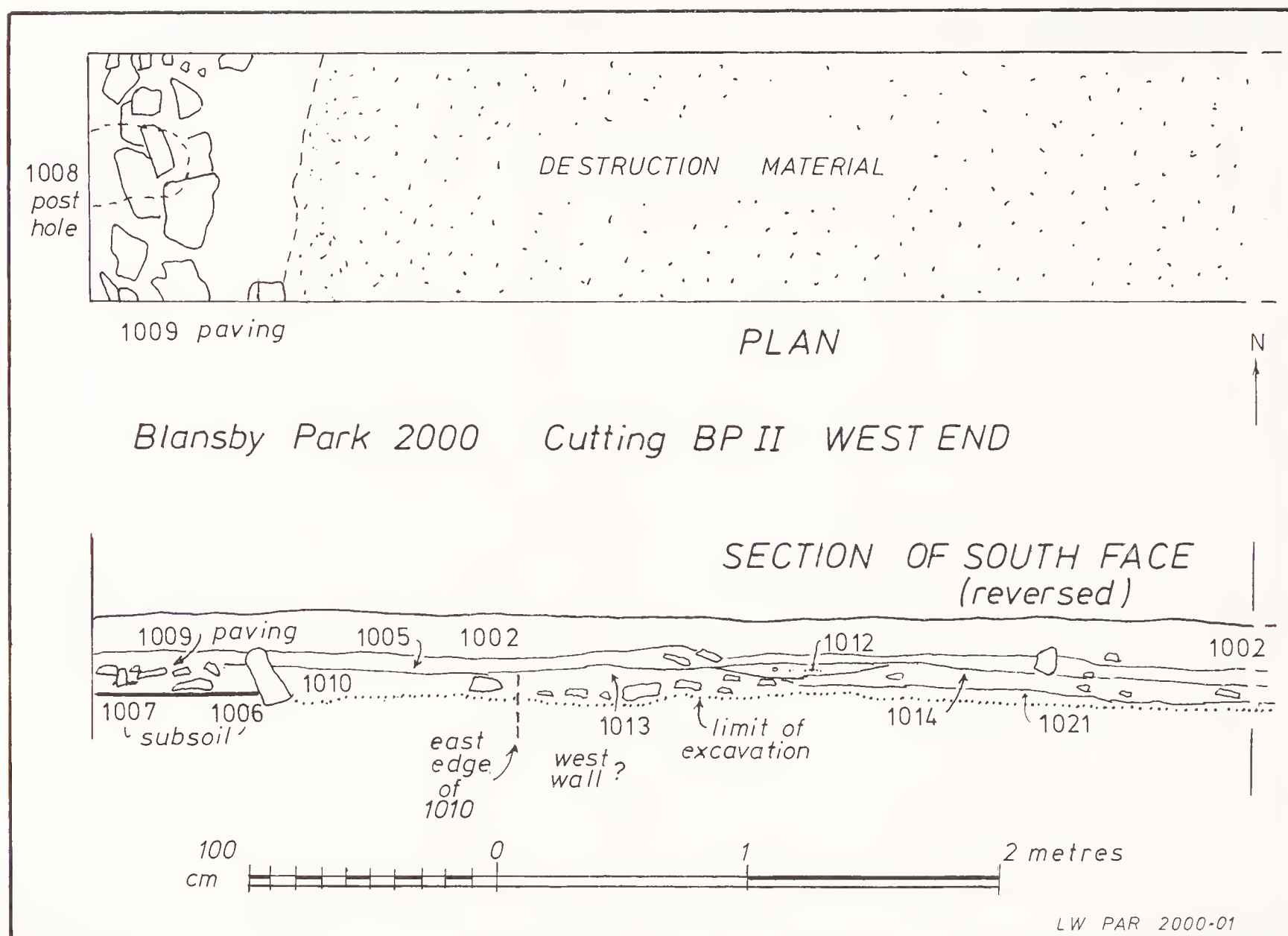


Fig. 10. Cutting BP II, plan and section of west end.

the destruction level of the building. All of this was disturbed in medieval times or later, probably by ploughing: there were medieval sherds in 1013 and 1014.

Somewhere in this area should be the west wall of the building unit. At the east end of 1010, as shown in Figure 10, there was apparently a vertical edge separating it from 1013, suggesting a sharp drop which could be the west edge of the robbing trench of the west wall; but bad weather and limited time prevented this from being confirmed.

### *The Hypocaust*

In the central part of the trench the destruction layers were removed completely in an area 2 x 1 m. At a depth of c. 50 cm a burnt floor was reached, abutting a substantial wall (1019). This 'floor' is interpreted as the lower sub-floor of a hypocaust, the upper (functional) floors having been totally removed.

The subsoil (1047) was cut into to insert a substantial wall (1019), principally of mortared limestone 70–80 cm wide. This was built from the west, there being no construction trench on either side. The subsoil 1047/1046 was removed in excavation to expose the east 'face' of the wall, which was somewhat overhanging, sloping inwards (i.e. it was wider at the top than at its base) (see section, Fig. 11). The west face was brought to a fairly even elevation, nearly vertical, with just the upper course set back slightly to the east.

The base of the wall (Fig. 13) was set into the subsoil, with three to four courses of semi-pitched stones as a footing, c. 10 cm below the intended sub-floor to the west. Courses above were laid staggered horizontally, separated by mortar builders' levels (called 'snots' by present-day masons) indicating stages in the work, with a slight offset



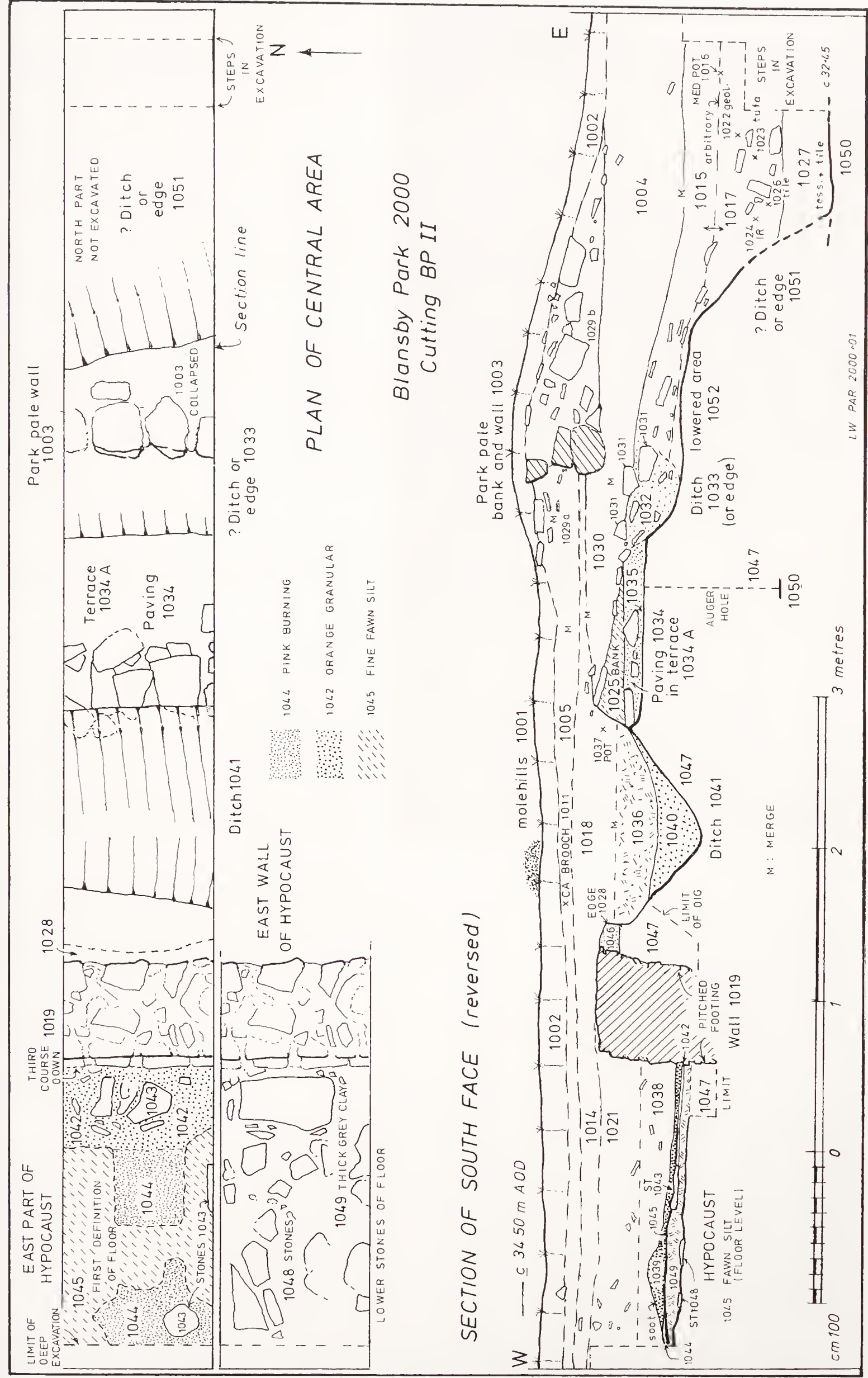


Fig. 11. Cutting BP II, plan and section of east end.





Fig. 12. BP II. Hypocaust wall and floor, from west.

on the top of the east side. This presumably marked the floor level, with the main wall (possibly not of stone) thus set back from the west edge of the wall at foundation level.

As surviving, the surface of the wall was fairly level. This is probably the level to which the wall was robbed (if it was of stone), though it is possible that there was a timber sill here, for a daub wall. The fact that the destruction level 1021 (unlike 1014 above) oversailed wall 1019 slightly, suggests that the wall was standing above foundation level at this stage in the destruction.

Presumably, the work of excavating the area to the west was done as part of the same building operation, but possibly secondarily to the insertion of the wall.

The hypocaust area (Figs 11, 12) itself was cut down to a depth of at least 60 cm from the Roman ground level. On the subsoil at the base, slabs of limestone were laid (1048); some of them, towards the west, were burnt black. Around these slabs, and partly on them, was a layer of grey clay up to 10 cm thick (1049). One slab, close to the wall, was exceptionally large, over 60 cm long and up to 40 cm wide, and up to 14 cm thick; its top was protruding up *c.* 5 cm above the surface of the grey clay; its surface was fragmented and burnt reddish as part of the stones 1043 (see below).

These basal features may represent a first phase of use of the hypocaust; or may be only the result of a 'trial firing'. The surface of the grey clay 1049 was mostly covered



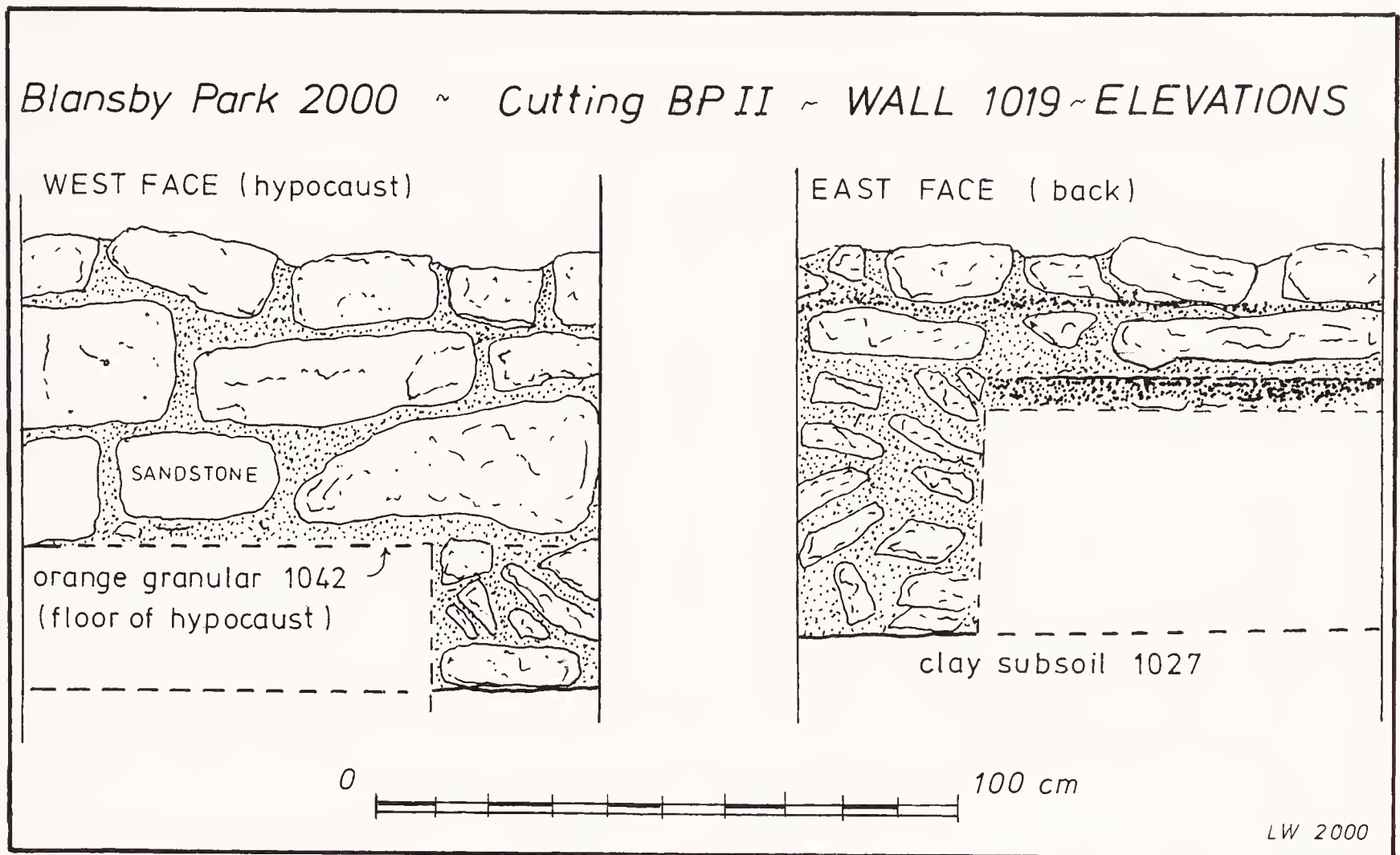


Fig. 13. Cutting BP II, wall 1019, elevations.

by a fine-texture fawn silty material (1045). Other parts of it were heavily burnt pink (1044). In the western patch, and on one place in the fawn silt, were further smaller limestone pieces (1043). There was a fairly sharp division between the eastern of the two burnt areas and a zone of more granular burnt orange material (1042) extending the whole width of the trench, some 60 cm wide and hard against the lower part of wall 1019. In 1042 were the pieces of the large stone noted above (1043). It is important in interpreting these features to note that the face of the wall 1019 was not burnt.

These features are not easily interpreted as the usual arrangement found in hypocausts, i.e. a series of *pilae* or channels. In such a limited area it cannot be understood; but it is likely that this part of the hypocaust was one in which there were subsidiary features such as hot-water tanks.

The burnt surfaces (of stone and clay) were covered by a layer of soot and charcoal (1039). While this may have been deposited at the time of the final firing of the hypocaust, it seems more likely that it is soot fallen from the underside of structural material (i.e. sub-floor slabs) at the time of the initial stages of destruction.

All the material above this in the hypocaust (1038, 1021) is part of a general destruction layer which, as has been seen, extended to the west for at least another 2 m and, as will be seen, spreads also to the east. There are no finds in 1038 or 1021 to date the destruction; in the layers higher up, up to the present turf and topsoil, there are post-Roman finds, principally medieval sherds; but these are more likely to be derived from later agricultural use of the area, rather than any destruction of the Roman building.

1021 and 1038 do, however, (with other contexts of destruction) provide much evidence of the structure of the building. There were large quantities of stone (limestone and a little sandstone), mortar (including *opus signinum*), plaster (exterior and interior, some coloured in patterns), ceramic tile (a few pieces of *tegulae*, *imbrices* and *tubuli*, and many



(?sub-floor) flat slabs) and (including those excavated by moles) 760 tesserae of several sizes, colours and materials.

Among the plaster, there were some pieces that have two angled planes indicating some complex arrangements in the room(s). There was a considerable quantity of tufa; this is probably the principal material used for roofing (vaulting), ceramic roofing material not being prominent in the material in BP II.

### *The Date of the Roman Building*

The dating of the building is uncertain. Only twelve sherds were found; most were of late third or fourth century date, but one is of the third century: interestingly, this is from a head-pot (Fig. 29). Ian Lawton believes that the use of such pots was primarily ritual rather than funerary, but in either case, it is odd in this context (1010, at the west end of the trench).

Another anomalous find was a second-century brooch, in very good condition (Fig. 28). This was found in a disturbed context high in the stratification (1011, in 1005 near to the hypocaust wall).

Even though there are these two finds of earlier date, it is likely that the building is of late Roman date, as apparently is the rest of the complex; but it is likely that there are earlier phases of the use of the area, possibly going back to the early Roman period (or earlier).

### *The Eastern Part of the Trench*

It remains to discuss the complex stratification east of the hypocaust wall 1019, extending through and under the Park boundary, into the slightly lower ground beyond (Fig. 11). On the eastern side of the hypocaust, the subsoil (1047) is capped by a dark brown velvety soil up to 15 cm deep (1046). The latter is interpreted as a residue of the former topsoil/subsoil of Roman times as noted above; this and 1047 below were cut into by wall 1019, as we have seen. The survival of a small area of what appears to be a complete soil profile is at least partly due to this being in close proximity to the wall face (itself here slightly concave), inhibiting the digging of the later ditch 1041 (see below).

The next phase in the stratification is the terrace 1034A further east. This had been cut down c. 20 cm below the Roman ground level postulated above, either by flood erosion or by human agency. The matrix of its 'fill' (1035) is a velvety-brown sandy soil, with some charcoal and grits rather similar to 1046; it is probably the altered upper part of the subsoil 1047. In 1035 were a number of large slabs, apparently a paving similar to that at the west end of the trench (1009), though at a lower level; the terrace could, however, be contemporary with the building to the west, though there were no finds to support this.

1034/1035 were cut on their east side by what appears to be a small ditch (1033), though its east side was not satisfactorily defined.

A wedge-shaped dark brown soil west of this (1025) (sealing the fill 1035 of terrace 1034) contained only a boot-stud, some sandstone, mortar and animal bone. It is interpreted as having been derived from the digging of ditch 1033 to the east, a small bank on its west side.

Again, this bank and ditch could be contemporary with the building to the west, possibly a boundary feature, perhaps replacing the lowered terrace 1034 in this function.

The fill of 1032 was a dark grey-brown soil, slightly clayey. In this were several pieces of tile, tesserae, *opus signinum*, tufa and some sandstone. It is clear that this ditch was open when the destruction of the building began.



More stones (limestone and sandstone 1030) extended over 1025 and the fill 1032 and 1031 into the fill of a lowered area 1052, whose base was at the same depth as the base of 1033 (and possibly coeval with this or earlier). This is part of a major destruction level, dropping down into the deep area 1051. While the west edge of this was clearly defined, the excavation did not extend far enough to the east to determine whether there was an east edge. We think it more likely that 1051 was not a ditch but the west side of a major wash-out from substantial upstream flooding of the beck, removing previous deposits to a depth of nearly two metres. In the fill layers 1015, 1017 and 1027 was building material — tile, tesserae, tufa, mortar and large stones — in a matrix of mid grey-brown gleyed silty clay. Although the material is similar in character to (but much less than) the main destruction levels at higher levels further west, there is no direct continuity, possibly because of further wash-out.

Dr Jones observed from his analysis that of the fill layers of ditch or edge 1051, 1017 was deposited in slower flowing water than 1015 above. In the latter was a medieval sherd (1016), suggesting a secondary origin for 1015, unless it got into an existing level.

Next in stratigraphic sequence is Ditch 1041, close to the hypocaust. The west edge of this (1028) cut only the postulated intact soil profile (1046–1047); but its east side cut the bank 1025, and possibly the stony destruction layer 1031 over the top of 1025.

The primary fill 1040 was a dark grey-brown gleyed silt with fairly dense charcoal-studding; the only find was a piece of stalactite, which could be from the stalactitic element found among the tufa from the main destruction layer further west.

The secondary fill 1036 consisted of mixed clay and mortar. Some of the clay is reddish, possibly like that in the hypocaust floor (these are the only contexts in BP II in which this was found). There were also in 1036 some hand-sized pieces of stone, fragments of tile, some *opus signinum*, and one tessera. Above this, 1018 was part of the general destruction layer.

Although Ditch 1041 is secondary to the small bank 1025 (which, as we have seen, could be contemporary with the building to the west) it could also be contemporary (and after the ditch/wash-out to the east), though perhaps in a final phase. Possibly it represents an attempt to divert flood water to the south during wetter times, with some erosion of the upper part of the sides. The charcoal-studding could be from the use of the hypocaust (perhaps from further north); or from the burning of the superstructure of the building; 1036 could also represent part of the initial destruction of the building.

In this main central part of the trench, and extending to the west, the general destruction layer appears to have been disturbed, probably by ploughing. In the eastern area, however, there are considerable alluvial deposits (1004) of medieval or later date. On and in this were the remains of the wall of the Park pale (1003).

The surviving part of this was of large yellow sandstone of two or three courses. Most had disintegrated and collapsed; on the west side the collapse was 1029a, merging into the general destruction layer to the west (the wall probably defined the limit of ploughing).

On the east side the collapse was more severe (1029b), tailing out to the east; the whole finally no more than a degraded bank, eventually grassed over. It may be that the existence of this wall and its later version as a bank caused the survival of the Roman building by protecting it from severe flooding from the east.

#### *Discussion (BP II only)*

As was anticipated from the mole evidence, there is a major Roman building in this field by the beck. Its location, together with the use of *opus signinum* and the use of tufa for vaulting, suggests this was the bath-house of the complex, with tessellated floors with mosaic, plastered walls in more than one plane, and interior fresco. Some elements of



the building used *tegulae* and *imbrices* for roofing, but there were few of them, the rest being of vaulted tufa.

Most of the stone for the building was local limestone, with smaller amounts of local sandstone; more distant sources were used for some of the tesserae. The source of the tufa is at present unknown, but was probably in the Newton Dale area; the presence of stalactitic concretions suggests a source close to a spring in a cleft or cave. Tufa was widely used in Roman structures (sometimes found in the form of voussoirs) being strong, but light in weight, and easily cut with a wood-saw.

The dating of the bath-house is uncertain; but it is likely to have been built in the late Roman period, though there may be earlier occupation in other parts of the site.

The date of its destruction is problematical. It may have been as early as the latest Roman period (late fourth to fifth century) or much later. The building had been dismantled, leaving (in the small area excavated) only parts of the lower courses of the wall. This resulted in a general destruction spread of building material (but little else); subsequently, at some time in the medieval period, the site was ploughed. The reversed-S plan of the Park boundary in the Park Gate area suggests that there was ploughing *before* the setting-out of the boundary wall (on its west side); but, after this was built, the ploughsoil in the BP II stratification appears to be limited by the wall (see Fig. 11).

From this small sample, no suggestions can be made about the plan of the bath-house, or the function of the part excavated. If the building unit confirmed in Trench BP II is only 4–5 m internally in its west–east dimension, the whole bath-house is probably orientated south–north. The geophysical survey shows a north–south anomaly beyond the west end of the trench (Fig. 4) and a west–east (negative) anomaly nearer to the beck, which could indicate some boundary or beck frontage here.

In the very wet conditions of the 2000 excavation, there was a limit both to the validity of the stratigraphic sequence and its interpretation, but it is hoped that the data acquired will provide some idea of the structural material and hypotheses for testing in subsequent excavation.

## SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATIONS: INTERIM REPORT

*By Andrew Jones*

### GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The areas examined at Blansby Park in 2000 are located in the valley floor of Newton Dale, North Yorkshire. This valley is well known from the work of Kendall (1916) and was formed during periglacial times, draining a large area of the North York Moors as ice sheets from Scandinavia prevented the eastern drainage of the moors. In the Esk valley, re-entrant valleys on the south side, blocked at their northern ends by ice as far up as Lealholm, filled up with meltwater and formed a series of lakes. The combined overflow from these lakes gathered on Wheeldale Moor near Goathland and flowed south forming Newton Dale.

The natural subsoil in the areas excavated is a mixture of colluvial and alluvial sediments laid down in post-glacial times. Pickering Beck, a misfit stream (one which is too small to have formed a valley through which it runs), drains Newton Dale, and the valley floor contains a large number of oxbows, demonstrating that the stream has changed its course on many occasions.

### THE SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMME

1. Survey of living biota on the site
2. Sampling ancient biota from archaeological deposits



3. Dating and characterising stratified deposits
4. Recovering and analysis of artefact assemblages
5. Incorporating a Geographical Information System into the project

These investigations drew on expertise, staff, students and equipment in various departments in the Universities of Bradford, Leeds and York, and the York Archaeological Trust. Detailed laboratory analysis and other work will be completed by undergraduates and postgraduate students of the Universities of Leeds, York and Bradford.

## INTERPRETATION

A series of post-glacial deposits accumulated in Newton Dale, notably 1050 and 1027. The latter formed the basal material upon which a Roman building was erected. This fell into disuse (the precise time of this event is unclear). Bulky Roman building materials became incorporated into accumulating alluvial deposits (1017 and 1015), which may have taken many years to accumulate.

Thereafter, Roman remains decayed less rapidly allowing a truly post-Roman accumulation of 1004 which in effect sealed the first phase of Roman destruction and formed a new surface upon which builders constructed the Park boundary. More alluviation continued on the site, and the topsoil formed through the action of humans, other animals, plants and the stream.

## CONCLUSIONS

The scientific evaluation in the Park Gate area has clearly demonstrated that important Roman and post-Roman deposits exist at the site in deeply stratified alluvial and colluvial deposits. Bone preservation is good, although bone-rich deposits have not yet been encountered. Charred cereal grain and molluscs are well preserved and frequent in the deposits and excellent potential for understanding aspects of the economy of the site and site formation processes.

The integration of an extensive sampling programme into the excavation strategy has ensured excellent recovery of cultural and bioarchaeological materials.

## THE FINDS

### INTRODUCTION

The material described here is from three contexts: unstratified finds (BP I, 101) from the ploughsoil north of the railway; some from Cutting BP I, also in this field; and many from molehills and Cutting BP II in the pasture field between the railway and the Pickering Beck. Most of the last group consist of building material from the Roman building located here, probably a bath-house.

All finds have been catalogued here, by category of material (or, in the tesserae, by form). Most of the finds are Roman, probably Late Roman, but a few are of later date.

The categories are as follows: stone, ceramic building material, tesserae, lime-based material, glass, iron, copper alloy, other metals, coins, Roman pottery, medieval pottery and clay pipe. Specialist reports are available for some categories.

### STONE

#### *Building and Other Artefact Materials*

Stone was used at Park Gate for walling, roofing, flooring and artefacts. The principal Roman building material was fine-grained pale grey limestone (almost exclusively in the only surviving part of the Roman hypocaust, probably that of a bath-house). Also used



was a coarse yellow sandstone, which was found extensively in all contexts, including the medieval Park boundary wall.

No part of the excavation reached any bedrock, but it is likely that the yellow sandstone is the basal material. This and the limestone are plentiful in the Corallian strata of the Upper Jurassic period.

Other kinds of stone were used in the Roman structural elements. The first is tufa. This was found in coarse shapeless lumps; it is of a dull creamy colour, of very coarse texture, reminiscent of wasps' nests. Most of the structure is calcium carbonate, holding casts of former organic reeds and other plants. The latter were replaced by calcium carbonate in conditions of continually-moving lime-rich water, such as springs and becks. The local source of such tufa is not yet known, but is likely to be from the locality of Newton Dale. Some pieces are additionally coated by a hard calcium carbonate skin, similar to stalagmitic structures in caves or fissures through which water percolates. There is additionally one large piece of stalagmite or stalactite with no visible tufa in or on it. This and the tufa proper are doubtless from the same source.

Tufa is very useful for building, being not only strong, but also light in weight, and it can be cut by a woodsaw. There are some major buildings wholly of tufa blocks, such as the Norman church of Moccas in Herefordshire. In Roman structures it was favoured especially for vaulting, where its special properties are valuable. It was used, for instance, for the ambulatory vaulting of the Late Roman temple of Pagans Hill (Somerset) (Rahtz 1951); here it was shaped into voussoirs. No voussoirs were found at Park Gate, but tufa was almost certainly used for the vaulting over the rooms of the bath-house.

The second stone used for structures was a slabby, heavily-micaceous sandstone. The source of this has not yet been ascertained. It could have been used for roof-slates, though none was found with any angles of the characteristic pentagonal form, nor with any nail-holes, nor were any roof-slate nails found: it is possible that this sandstone was used only for flooring or for minor structures. The local limestone and sandstones were used for tessellated floors, together with other non-local material: chalk (from the Wolds) and a dark laminated mudstone (see below, tesserae).

Among the artefacts, a coarse gritstone was used for a millstone, beehive and rotary querns and other worked stone (such as bakestones or non-rotary grinders) (Figs 14–17).

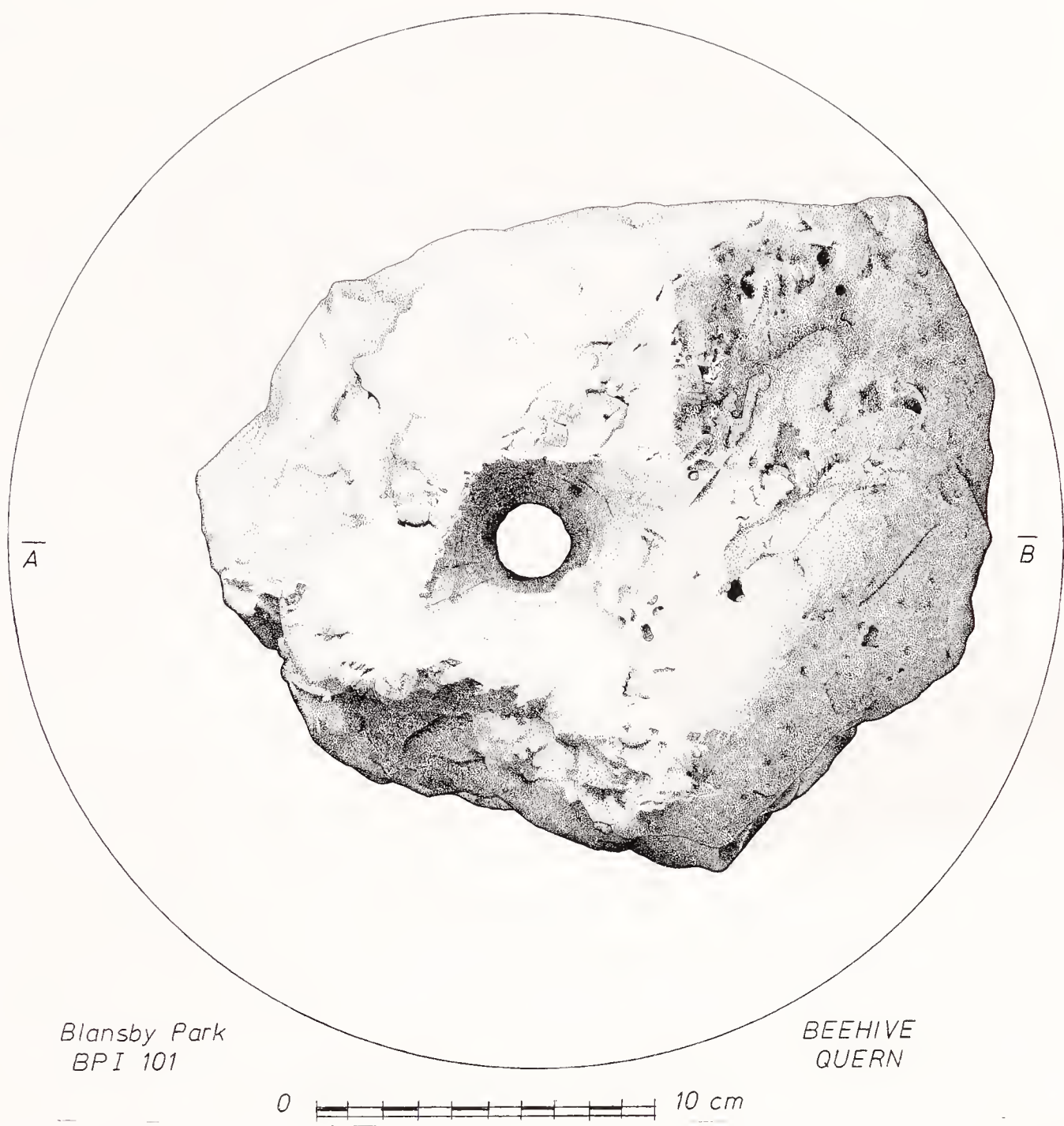
The final, and most surprising, stone is a dark fine-grained stone used for a small statue, two pieces of which were found in the ploughsoil (BP 1). This has been identified by Dr John Senior as a volcanic tuff, of Italian provenance (Fig. 18).

*Artefacts: BP 1 (unstratified)*

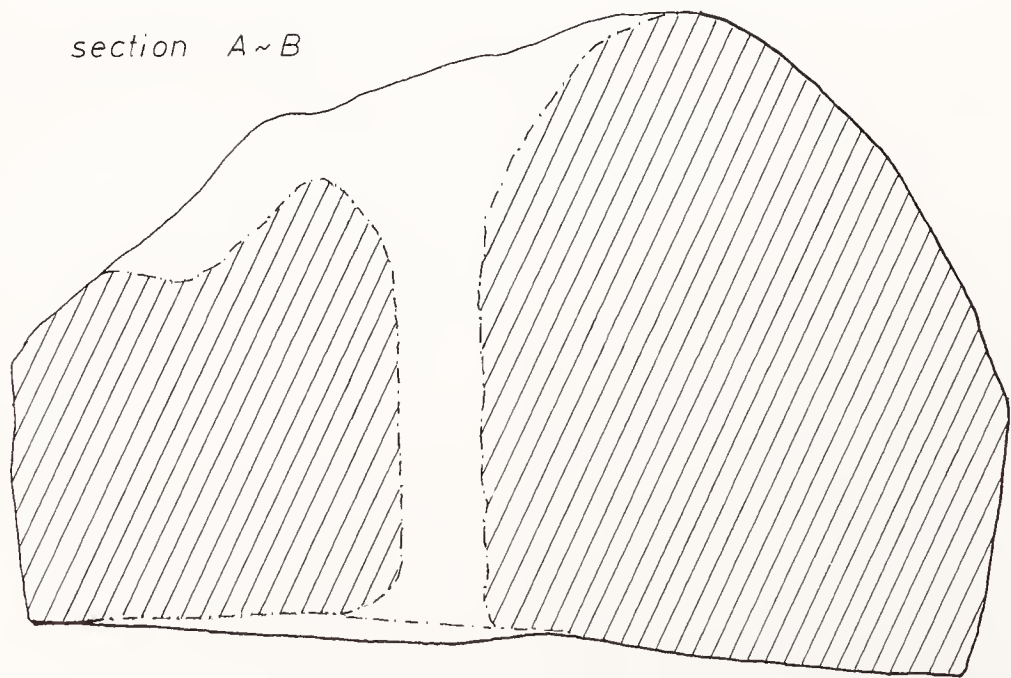
1. Beehive quern, nearly complete, but battered, pale brown micaceous sandstone; burnt reddish.
2. Beehive quern, fragment broken across feeder hole; grey-buff sandstone, burnt.
3. Rotary quern, half of upper stone. There was also part of another similar stone; this is part of the upper member of a powered millstone assembly; slightly domed upper surface; under grinding member flat, with picked transverse sharpening grooves. The stone is yellow-brown coarse gritstone, with an irregular porous and pocked texture. A number of cavities on the surfaces, many sub-rectangular, may be the result of weathering out of soluble small pebbles. The upper surface is reddened on its side by burning. Dimensions of the stone are 72 cm in diameter, 7–8 cm thick at centre and 5–6 cm at edge.

The stone is similar to two examples found at Chew Park Roman villa (North Somerset) (Rahtz and Greenfield 1977, 202 and Fig. 96, 10–11). One of these was complete, *c.* 67 cm in diameter; 10 has a concave grinding surface, but 11 is flat. Both have nicks in their





section A~B

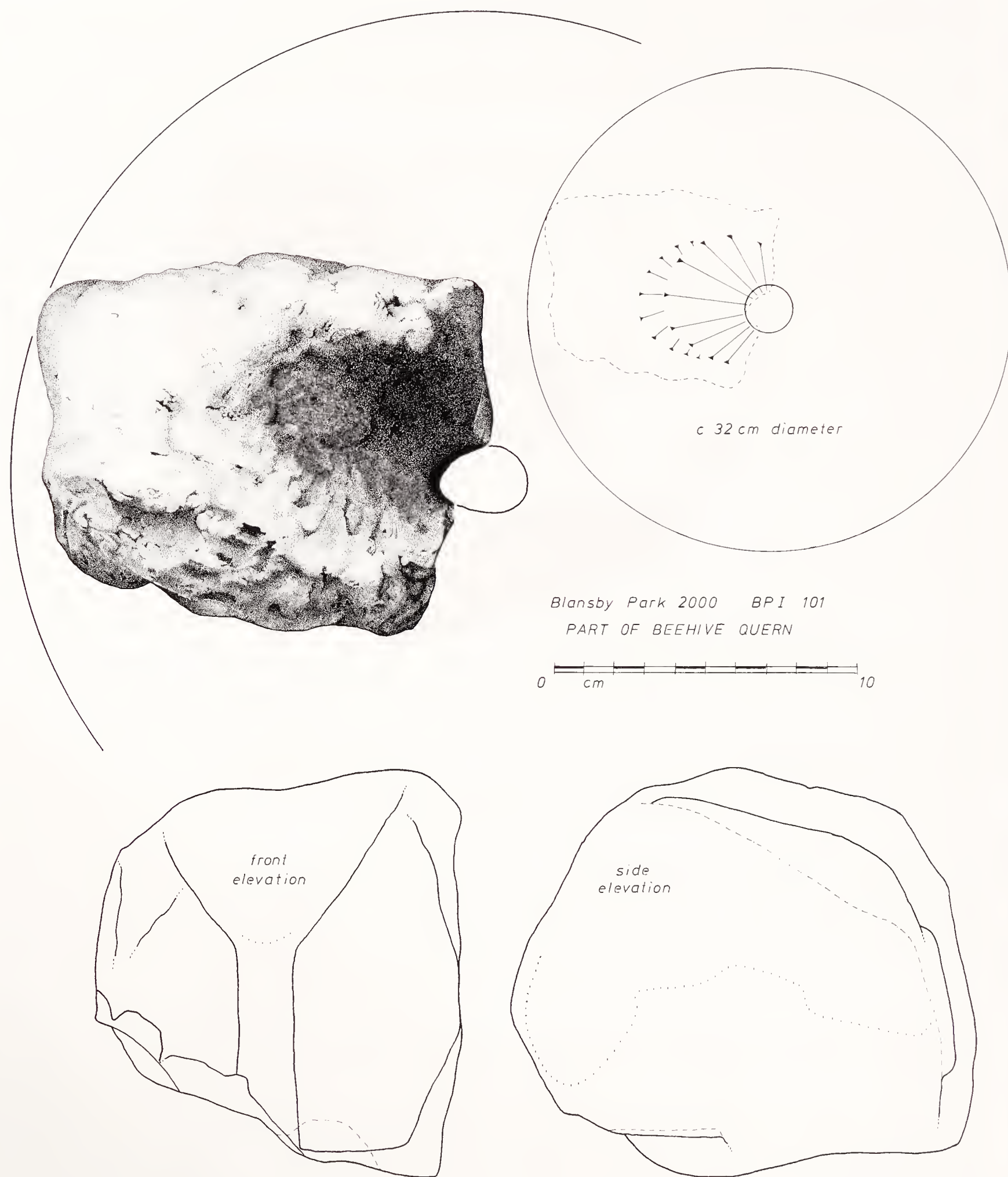


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Fig. 14. BP I 101, beehive quern.

outer rims; 10 has four, equally spaced. These may have been made when the stone was cut, or to secure an encircling iron band. Both have dove-tailed central holes; the ‘wings’ of these would have been for wooden or metal rynds.





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Fig. 15. BP I 101, part of beehive quern.

There is no evidence for such rynd holes or slots in the Park Gate example. There must have been a central spindle, probably of iron, with enough space around it to feed corn into the edges of the hole to be centrifugally flung out between the grinding surfaces, towards the edge, from which the flour could be collected.





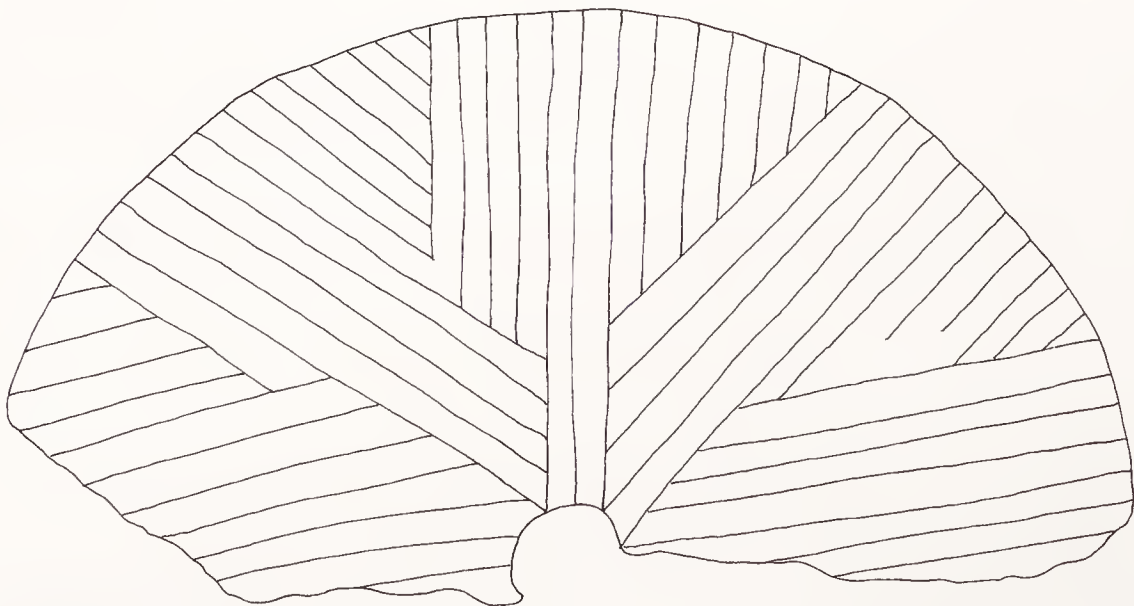
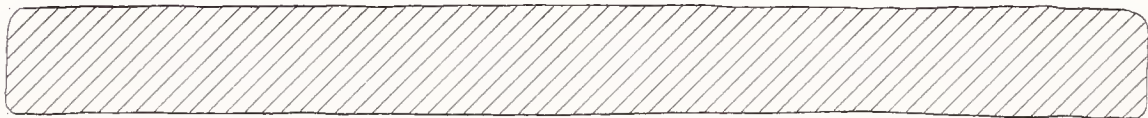
diam. 72 cm

Blansby Park 2000  
BP I 101

MILLSTONE, UPPER STONE  
UNDERSIDE



section



reconstruction  
of groove cutting pattern

DANIEL van den TOORN 2001

Fig. 16. BP I 101, millstone, upper stone underside.



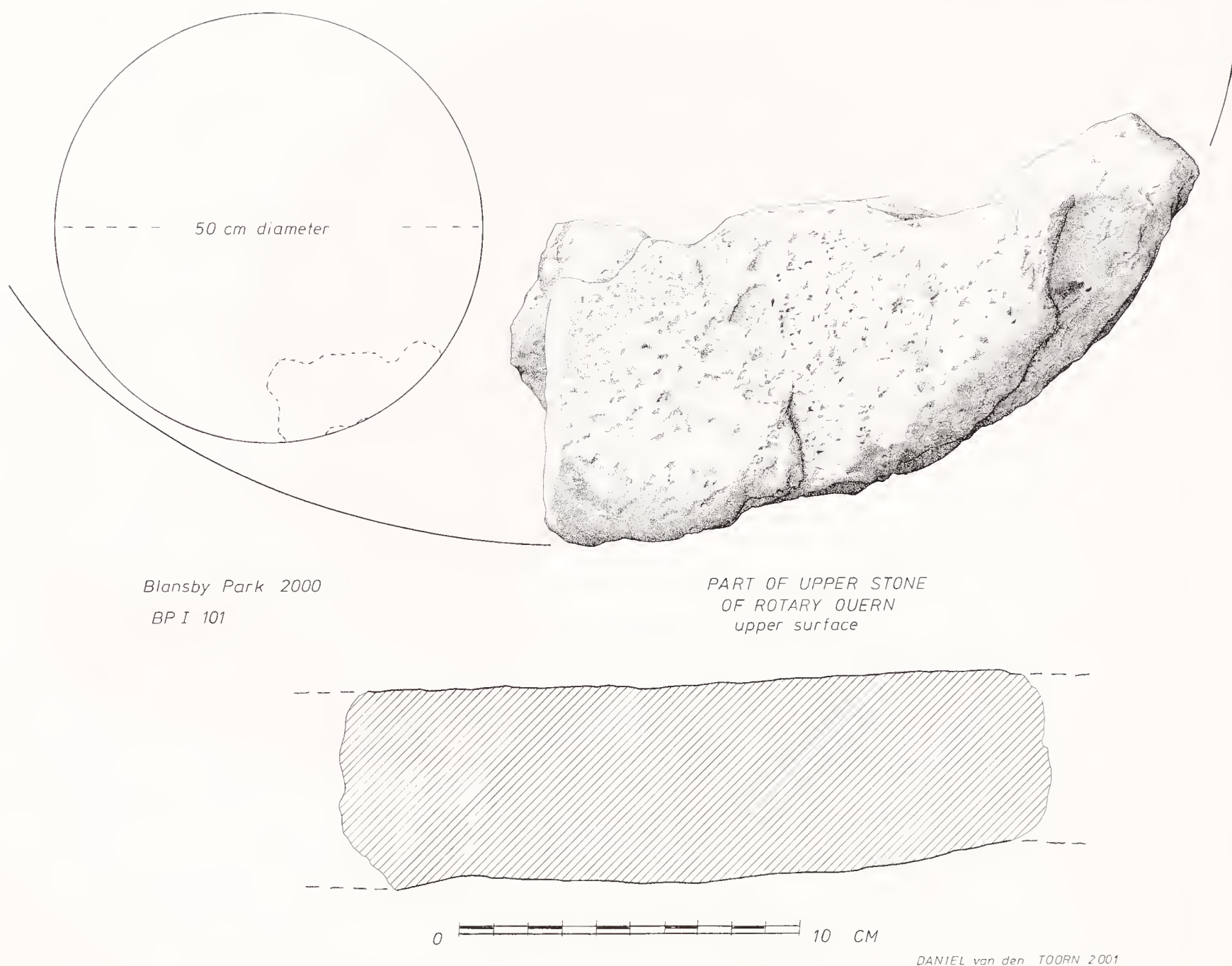


Fig. 17. BP I 101, piece of upper stone of millstone assembly.

The size of the stone shows that the millstone assembly was part of a powered or traction mill, driven by water, animals or humans. The absence of any rynd socket on the extant pieces makes it impossible to suggest how torque was applied to this upper stone. The only possibility that can be suggested is that there were rynd emplacements in the missing part, perhaps two opposite each other, which could be linked to some power source, possibly two wooden arms which could be turned by animals or humans; water power seems unlikely.

A complete example of an animal-powered mill can be seen in the Museo Agricolo, a rural life museum at Tigua in Lanzarote. Either donkey or camel could be used: both were formerly common in North Africa and the Canary Islands.

5. Rim fragment of upper of upper rotary hand quern; yellow-brown sandstone; some circumferential wear on underside.
6. Two very weathered fragments of a small statue; both have fine patterned decoration or surface treatment, possibly representing fabric of drapery.

The stone was recognised on site by Dr John Senior (University of Durham) as not being British. He made a thin section and has no doubt that the statue came from a central Italian source; his report is appended below.

Drawings of the fragments were examined by Martin Henig (Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford). He commented that examples of imported statuary are rare, and tend to be of marble. He agrees that the piece with relief carving may represent drapery.



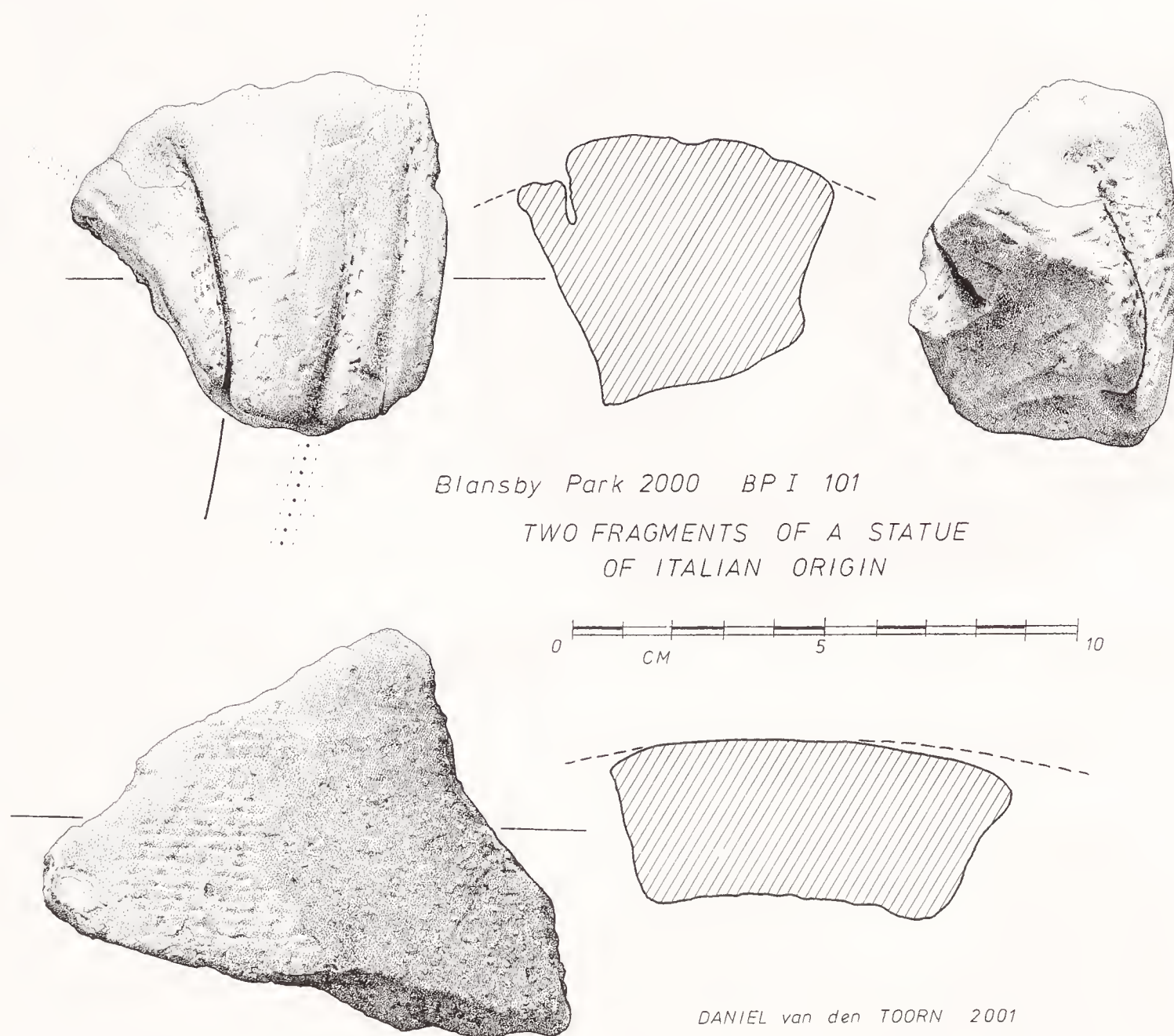


Fig. 18. BP I 101, two fragments of a statue of Italian origin.

It should be noted that the orientation of the fragments as shown in Figure 18 is no more than a guess: either or both may be upside down.

Since they came from the ploughsoil (though in the vicinity of the circular structure defined in the geophysical survey) their Roman date is probable, but not certain. They might, for example, have been imported into Britain in post-Roman centuries, perhaps collected in the course of a Grand Tour; but again, one would expect such a statue to be of marble. The confirmation that they are associated with the Blansby Park Roman complex could be finds of further fragments in a stratified context below the ploughsoil. If the statue is an Italian import, this would be evidence of a remarkably high status for the Roman owner.

Dr John Senior provided a report on 10 October 2000:

Volcanic in origin, these two worked stones are rather weathered examples of a grey coloured (Munsell colour 10YR 4/1) volcanoclastic rock. Thin sections prepared from a small sample show still recognisable angular crystal sherds and some idiomorphic crystals (although the latter usually shows all degrees of deterioration) of feldspathoids (leucite and nosean) and pyroxene (augite). The iron oxide mineral magnetite is also present together with angular fragments of very fine-grained, dark coloured, volcanic rock in a very fine grained volcanoclastic matrix.

The mineralic composition suggests that this rock is a leucitite or even a leucite tephrite. These rocks are characteristic of the volcanic districts of Roccamontina and Somma-Vesuvius, west of the Southern Apennines, also the Sabatini area north-west of Rome (west of the Northern Apennines).



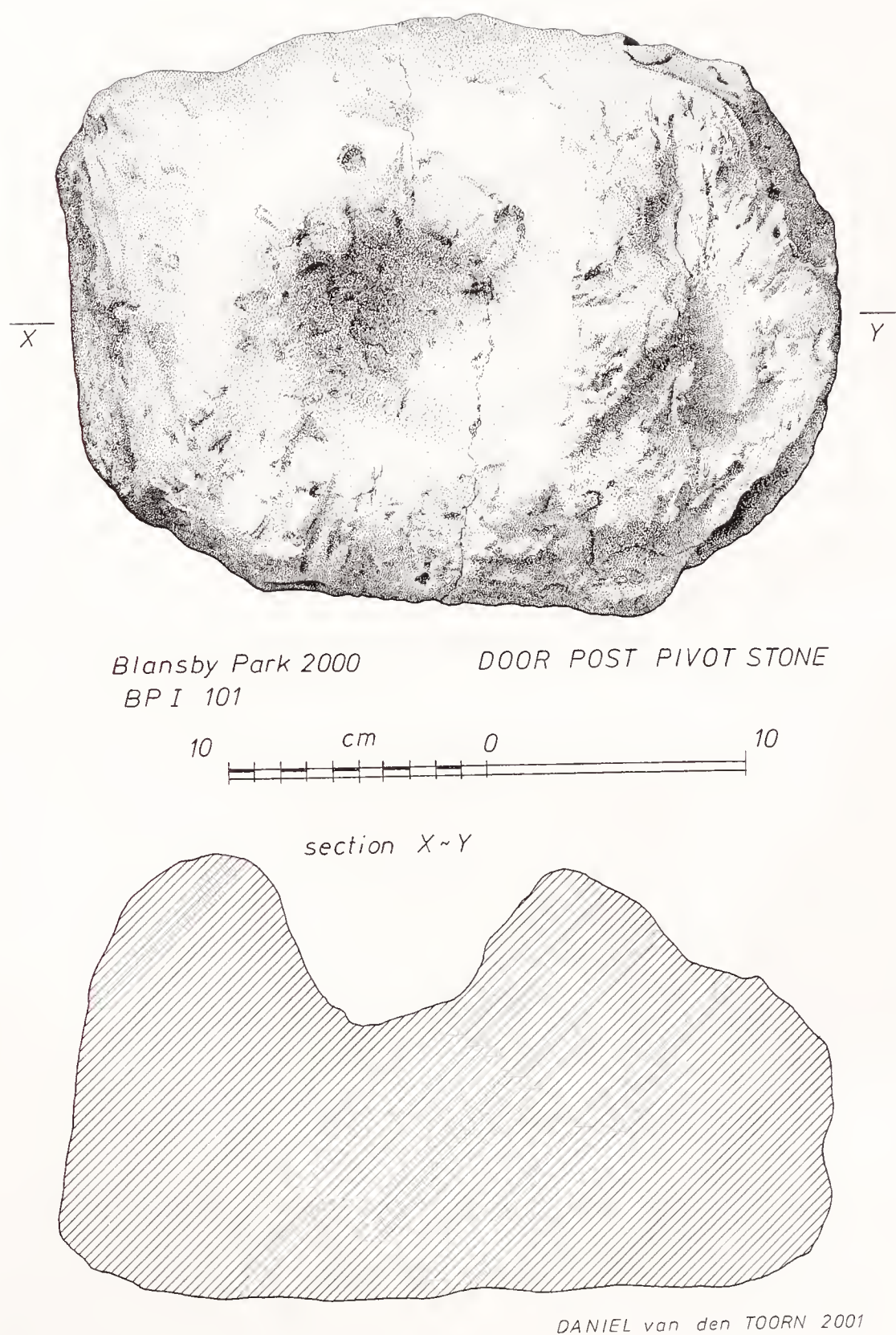


Fig. 19. BP I 101, door post pivot stone.

7. Door post pivot stone, coarse yellow-brown sandstone. (Fig. 19. For location see Fig. 7.)

### CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL (CBM)

CBM is the subject of a long-term research project by Sandra Garside-Neville; she is including the Park Gate material in this study.

Over 40 kg of CBM were collected by the Harrisons from the ploughsoil in the field north of the railway: this material included 5 kg of *tegulae* and *imbrices*, 5 kg of *tubuli* and 5 kg of thick plain tile and other featureless pieces. A few featureless scraps were also found in this area from Cutting BP I. A few pieces exhibited animal hoof prints.

One hundred and forty pieces (21 kg) were found in stratified contexts in the field south of the railway in Cutting BP II, either directly in destruction levels associated with the wrecked hypocaust fill, or in other related contexts.

Those from BP II (believed to be from a bath-house) include pieces of *pila* or sub-floor tile 25–40 mm thick. The only piece with two corners has a dimension of 210 mm, which, if a *pila* tile, would be 210 x 210 mm; but only two pieces (context 1014) (40 mm



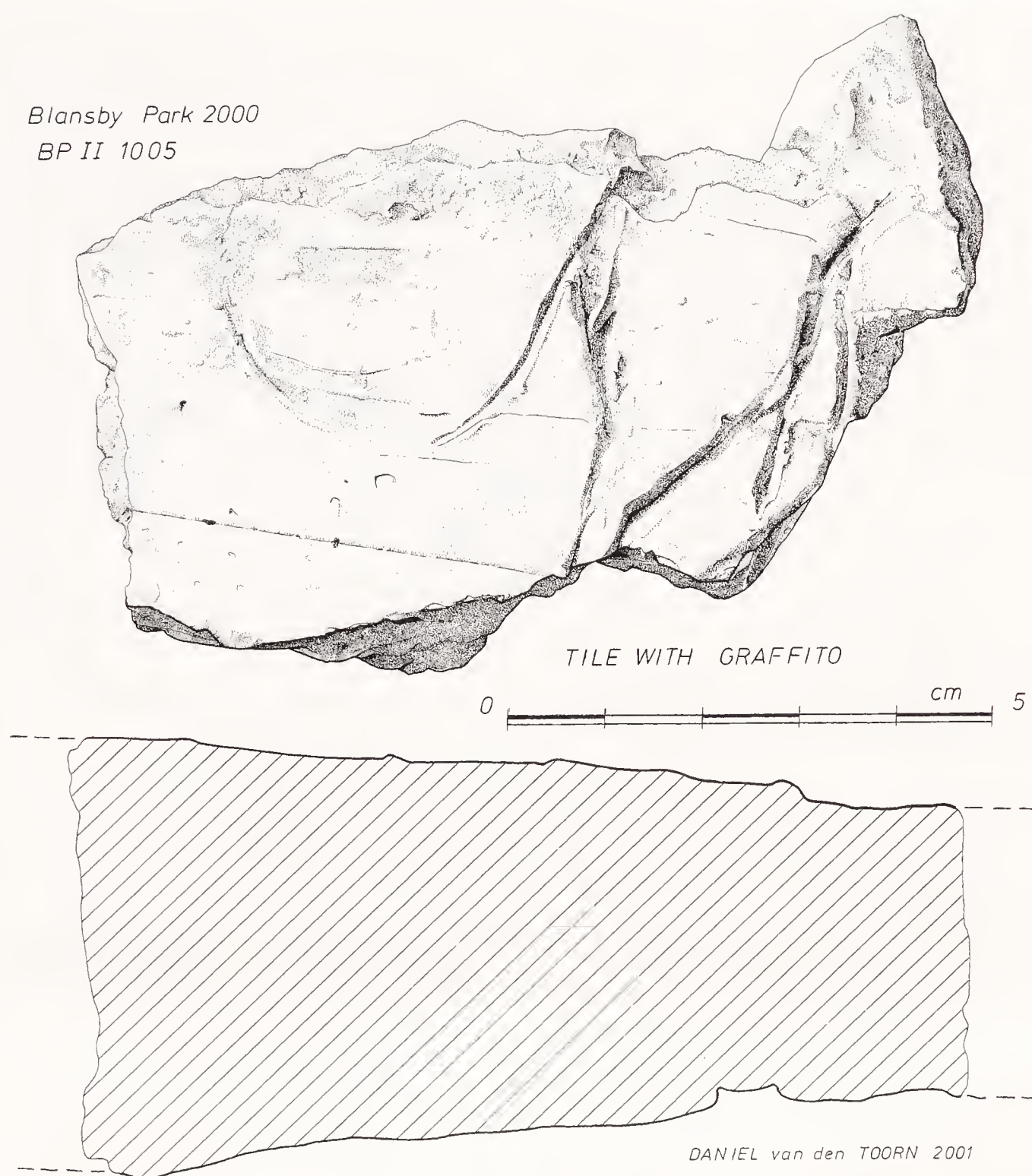


Fig. 20. Tile with graffito.

thick) have *opus signinum* on both sides; some mortar would be expected on any *pila* tile. 1026 is ripple keyed.

There are numerous piece of *tubuli* (box flue tiles); these are 15–35 mm thick. One has a complete length of 175 mm, and another 210 mm, with the usual combed keying.

There are a few small pieces of *imbrices* and *tegulae*, but there is no guarantee that the latter are from the ?bath-house — they may come from other places (they are contexts 1014, 1015, 1038).

Two pieces have scored or impressed features. One (1005, Fig. 20) has what looks like part of a graffito, perhaps a maker's or batch number; the other (1005, Fig. 21) has what appears to be an impression of a plant, in contact with the tile before firing; though it might also be a graffito, scored with a fine tool.

## TESSERAE

### *Number, Sizes and Material*

A total of 760 tesserae was recorded from BP II (Fig. 22); 116 were recovered from mole-hills before BP II excavation, and 644 from stratified contexts in excavation.



*Blansby Park 2000**BP II 1005*

TILE WITH PLANT IMPRESSION OR GRAFFITO ?

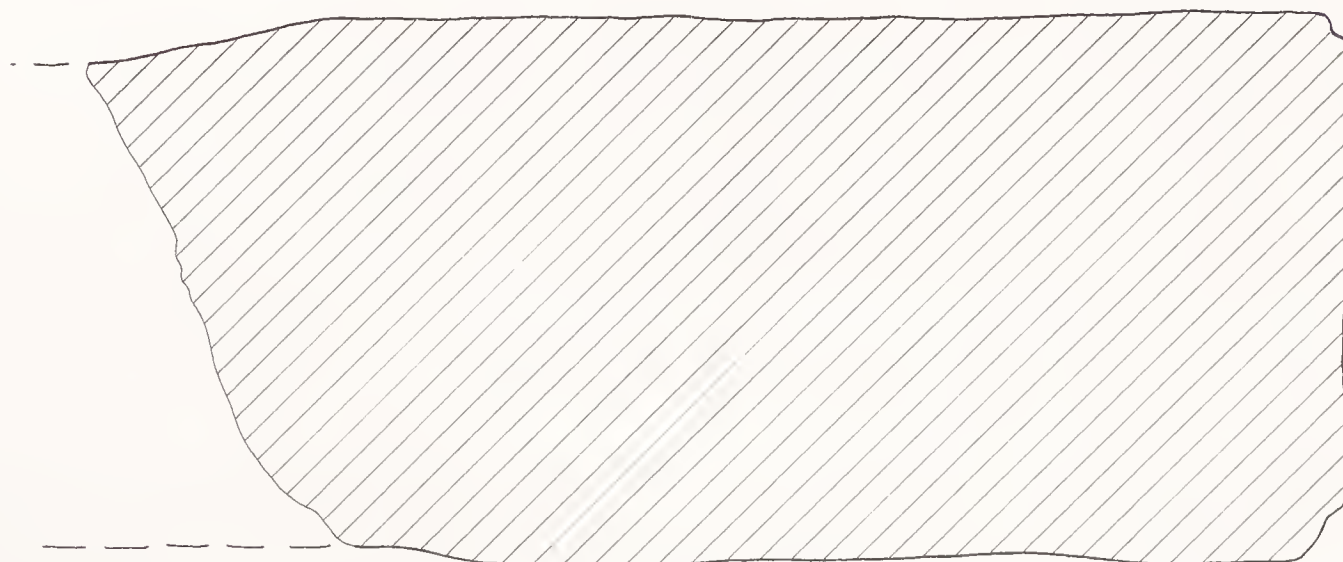
*DANIEL van den TOORN 2001*

Fig. 21. Tile with plant impression or graffito?

The notional range of sizes extends from 7 mm to 25 mm in maximum dimensions. They may be grouped in five size-groups: 7, 10, 15, 20 and 25. There are, however, variations in the size range in each group; the five sizes are approximate mean dimensions; there are moreover a few overlaps between the sizes, i.e. the maximum dimensions of the tesserae in one group can be close to the minimum of the next larger group.

The five size-groups (Fig. 23) could be perceived (and could have been perceived originally) as very small, small, medium, large and very large.

All the materials used are represented in most, but not all, sizes. They may be described as follows:





Fig. 22. BP II Tesserae, grouped by material and size.

- A. Soft white chalk, many eroded to shapeless pieces; the latter have certainly been tesserae, as the material is foreign to the area, presumably imported from the chalk of the Wolds.
- B. Harder white chalk, which in general retains its sub-cubical form better, and does not dissolve so readily in washing. These also are mostly stained brown on their surfaces, a stain which does not readily wash out. While the general appearance of group B is somewhat off-white by comparison with A, it is likely that both were basically white when laid, in terms of the design of the pattern.
- C. Grey fine-grained limestone, ranging from pale grey to medium grey; probably local. A single example in this group is in smoother rounded fawn limestone, possibly not a tessera.
- D. Dark grey to black (latter especially when wet); these tend to split laterally into thinner pieces; they are likely to be a mudstone, and not local. They were doubtless the darkest colour in the mosaic.
- E. Medium grey-brown; also tending to split laterally; not local.
- F. Red; made from ceramic tile similar to the mass of tile from the site as a whole; some have a reduced black core.
- G. Yellow-brown sandstone, micaceous in different degrees; principally used in larger sizes as bordering.



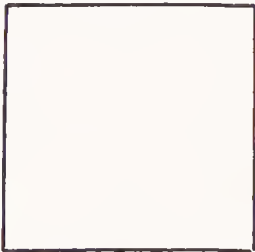
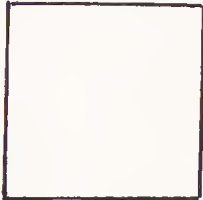
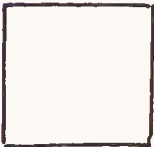


BLANSBY PARK 2000					
	25 mm	YELLOW-BROWN SANDSTONE	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	27
	20 mm	YELLOW-BROWN SANDSTONE GREY LIMESTONE RED CERAMIC WHITE CHALK	168 7 12 <u>73</u>	<u>260</u>	260
	15 mm	YELLOW-BROWN SANDSTONE BLACK MUDSTONE BROWN MUDSTONE GREY LIMESTONE RED CERAMIC WHITE CHALK	8 17 8 19 12 <u>37</u>	<u>101</u>	101
	10 mm	BLACK MUDSTONE BROWN MUDSTONE GREY LIMESTONE RED CERAMIC WHITE CHALK	66 20 7 36 <u>182</u>	<u>311</u>	311
	7 mm	WHITE CHALK	<u>61</u>	<u>61</u>	61
			total	<u>760</u>	
Tesserae from BP II					

Fig. 23. Tesserae from BP II. Not to scale.

*Bedding and Finishing*

Many of the tesserae have coats or adhesions of a fine off-white 'cement', the bedding into which they were set, and which also filled up spaces between individual tesserae. Some of the twenty-five F red-tile tesserae have additional adhesions on the bedding cement: the coarse, poor *opus signinum*, which was used for the backing of plaster. This suggests that these tesserae were adjacent to walls or other structural features.

A number of the tesserae are almost perfect cubes, with six virtually identical faces. Most are, however, not so regular, and can be termed 'sub-cubical' at best. Some are very rough (apart from the degradation in chalk by erosion); so much so in some cases that they might not have been recognised as tesserae if they had not been in contexts where well-shaped ones were common, and were in a comparable material.

The usual procedure in the laying of tessellation is to set the tesserae in their bedding as evenly as possible, allow this to dry and become firm, and then grind down the overall surface with abrasive material until a smooth horizontal surface is achieved, which can



then be coated (with beeswax or other agent) and polished. While, however, a large number of the tesserae have one smooth face achieved in such an operation (irrespective of whether they are cubical or sub-cubical), many do not. Either the surface was not evenly ground down, or these examples were 'spare' and never used. This seems unlikely, however, given the contexts in which they were found; it may be that these roughly-faced tesserae were used in edge areas where it was not important to get them smooth, or that the roughness was masked by the subsequent coating agent.

### *Depth of Tesserae*

The size ranges suggested above are based on the average dimensions of the flattest surface of the cubes. Their depth (i.e. the thickness of the cube from its flat face downwards) varies, when they are not reasonably symmetrical cubes, like a dice. This variability would have been acceptable because the tesserae could be set shallowly or more deeply into the bedding 'cement'. Fortunately, this can be demonstrated and measured in one piece of off-white cement bedding from 1021. This piece is 80 mm long, and *c.* 50 mm wide; it carries the impression of parts of six tesserae of 20–25 mm size. The maximum thickness of the piece is 18 mm. The depth of the impressions of tesserae in this ranges from 1–2 mm to 5–6 mm, with others between these two extremes. Incidentally, this bedding has on its underside 3–4 mm of *opus signinum* similar to that used as backing to the plaster. The implication is that *op sig* was used for both the walls of the room and also its sub-floor (over a hypocaust).

### *Conclusion*

The 760 tesserae recorded from BP II seem to be representative of the tessellation in the area examined by field walking (mole-hills), geophysical survey and excavation. Although only one building unit (i.e. a room or area) could be defined in excavation, it is presumably one of several in a larger structure, suggested to be a bath-house. It is not certain that the tesserae collection was from this one unit, or from several. It may be that only one unit in the structure was tessellated; in either case the area represented by tesserae is no more than 0.18 square metres!

The range of sizes, materials and colours gives us a preliminary idea of the *style* of tessellation, which can be compared to other villas in the Vale of Pickering, notably nearby Beadlam. The range of sizes shows that the tessellation included mosaic work using the smaller tesserae, with borders of the larger sizes. It cannot be said from the sample recovered whether it is from a geometric pattern, or one with animal, human or other figures (though this is possible).

Other evidence from the site suggested that the whole complex was of relatively high status (as indeed the other villas in the area seem to be), so we may expect that any tessellation was of a quality comparable to others in the Malton/York vicinity. Further research is needed to attempt to define a local 'school' of mosaicists, which worked itinerantly in the York/Malton area, such as that associated with *Corinium* (Cirencester).

## LIME-BASED MATERIAL (LBM)

### *General (all LBM are from Cutting BP II)*

Functionally, there are three categories of LBM to be considered. The first is that used for the bedding for tesserae in tessellated floors, and for filling in the small interstices between the tesserae. This is a fine, whitish cement-like material. Its mode of use is discussed in the section on the tesserae above, but there is one example, described below, where the same material is used as the backing for plain red coating on stucco or plaster.



The second is the mortar used in the wall building. This is most positively exhibited in the only Roman wall foundation uncovered in BP II — the east wall of a hypocausted room. This is a medium coarse buff mortar, found also in loose lumps in the destruction material, and adhering to the backing of plaster where the latter had been applied to stone walls.

The third category of LBM is that used as backing for stucco or plaster rendering, some with painted colour. This functional category is of variable mixes, and is described as it was found in the decorated pieces below.

The commonest kind of this category is a pale-buff matrix; in this are inclusions of small granules of white lime, and a little charcoal, granules or chips of red ceramic tile, and also of black material, the latter being almost certainly the reduced interior cores of ceramic tile.

The proportion of ceramic tile, red or black, in this material is variable: sparse or dense. Generally both are versions of *opus signinum* (hereafter *op sig*) widely used in Roman buildings, and especially because of its water-resistant or water-proofing qualities. The BP II material, especially that which is sparse-tempered, is apparently of poor quality, by comparison with the coarse, hard, densely tile-tempered *op sig* seen in many buildings in other parts of England.

Nevertheless, the BP II *op sig* may have been effective as a water-proofing agent, as is the more familiar version seen elsewhere (especially in baths). This supports the identification of the structure found in BP II as a bath-house. Apart from its use as plaster backing, traces of similar material were noted below the tesserae bedding, as a component of the sub-floor, possibly over a hypocaust, and also on the backs of lumps of tufa, which is suggested as the material used in vaulting, where the water-proofing qualities may also have been useful.

### Discussion

The variety defined in so small a sample is remarkable, indicating a quite complex decoration of the walls of the building in BP II, comparable to that at Beadlam, with large plain areas of red, with dado or panels in colour decoration, possibly including foliage or fruit. The colours defined are (see Fig. 24):

- Pompeian Red
- Dull red or dark pink
- Dark brown
- Cream
- Apricot
- Mustard and other yellows
- Brownish-red or purplish
- Pale green
- Grey-green

Some over-painting was defined, indicating more than a short use of the building. Such is more clearly evidenced by the variety of backings. These may indicate numerous refacings of the walls; there is, however, a possibility that the plaster and stucco, although found in similar contexts in the destruction layers of the building, may be from different units or rooms; those for instance with an element of *op sig* may be from a room where water-proofing was important, while those backed only with mortar are from other places where this was not a relevant consideration.

Finally, the plaster has given some glimpse of a third dimension in the walls, the exterior or internal openings or projecting features.



*Stucco and Plaster*

There are three categories of stucco or plaster, which could be derived either from the exterior of the building or from the interior of rooms. There is no definite evidence for exterior stucco rendering, (such as piles outside the exterior faces of wall faces but see below). It is likely that all described below is from interior wall surfaces. It was found in destruction levels.

- A. The first category is a sparse-tempered *op sig* that, although brought to a smooth surface, shows no evidence of colour-coating, either because it never had any, or because all traces of it have disappeared. This category comprises *c.* 3 kg of a total of *c.* 5 kg of this material.

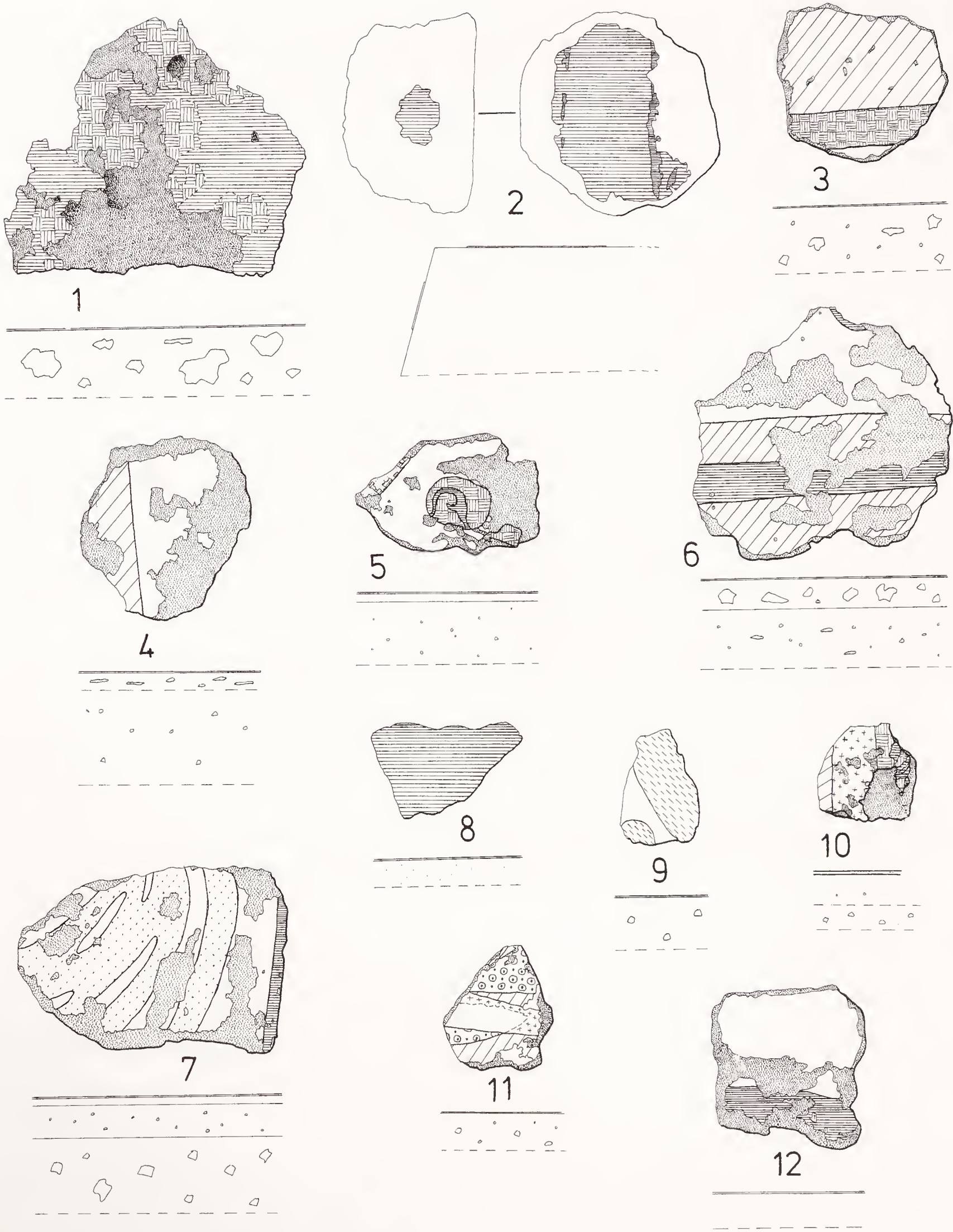
Among this is one piece with a smooth zone, but adjacent to it an area of rough-surfaced *op sig* whose surface is in the same plane as the smooth zone, or even placed proud of it. This would seem to be from an internal angle of the room or a feature within it. This piece also has a further layer on the back of buff 'wall-mortar', where the stucco was applied to a wall-face.

- B. The second category of stucco and plaster comprises thirty pieces of sparse-tempered *op sig* with plain Pompeian Red colour-coat, some paler than others. They range in size (maximum dimension) from 2 to 11 cm. The two largest pieces are 11 x 9 cm and 11 x 10.5 cm. The area represented by all pieces is under 400 sq cm. They are flat-surfaced, with one exception, with only residual red pigment. This has two smooth faces of *op sig* at an angle between of 255°; this would appear to form a non-right-angled corner of a door or window opening, or where there was some feature projecting from the wall.

The largest flat piece (also with a weak, patchy red pigment) exhibits a sandwich of backing. The red pigment is directly on the *op sig* with a thickness of 12–15 mm. This is secondary to another layer *c.* 25 mm of *op sig* of the dense-tempered variety, with a clear junction between the two. This in turn has patches of buff 'wall-mortar' on its back, where the whole 40-cm-thick piece has been applied to stonework.

- C. In the third category of stucco or plaster are six pieces, mostly small, with a total area of under 100 cm. These have a dark pink pigment on the dense-tempered *op sig*; the surfaces of these are very pitted; perhaps these are from an external rendering.
- D. Finally, there are twelve pieces with polychrome pigments, from an internal decorative scheme. The preparatory coat and backing are diverse, so these pieces are individually numbered and described, and illustrated in Figure 24.
- D1. 70 x 55 x 9 mm thick. Dark blue-brown and red mottled, just possibly a depiction of fruit or flowers; directly on dense-tempered *op sig*; possibly burnt.
- D2. 40 x 25 x 30 mm thick. Two planes at 25°, pale red wide strip, with thin dark red stripes: the latter may be only residual bits of an overall red coating; directly on sparse-tempered *op sig*.
- D3. 34 x 30 x 13 mm thick. On white ground is a yellow ochre pigment and a purple-brown stripe. Backing of buff mortar with only occasional red tile inclusions.
- D4. 35 x 30 x 23 mm thick. Pale cream skin 1 mm thick. Over-painted with cream and yellow coats, on a thin (1–2 mm) partial layer of sparse *op sig*. Backing 13–15 mm of mustard-coloured mortar, with more sparse *op sig* on its underside.
- D5. 35 x 26 x 15 mm thick. Thin cream skin with some particles of red tile. On this a blob of very dark brown pigment with a small reddish swirl inside it. Backing fine mustard-coloured mortar.





Blansby Park 2000  
BP II

DECORATED PLASTER

0  5 cm

DANIEL van den TOORN 2001









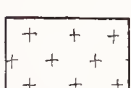


WHITE	
GREEN	
RED	
YELLOW OCHRE	
PURPLE/ BROWN	
BROWN	
TRANSLUCENT WHITE	
PINK	
UNPAINTED PLASTER	

Fig. 24. Decorated plaster (opposite).

- D6. 55 x 50 x 20 mm thick. Thin cream skin on up to 8 mm of sparse *op sig*. On this a cream coat with a broad stripe of patchy yellow ochre pigment. Backing buff mortar.
- D7. 55 x 35 x 29 mm thick. Off-white surface skin with secondary cream coat. By edge a red strip; several pale green curving stripes, possibly depicting leaves of a plant or tree. Backing mustard-coloured mortar 6–9 mm thick, itself on a pinkish sparse *op sig*.
- D8. 30 x 20 x 5 mm thick, triangular. Thin cream skin with red coat. Backing pale buff mortar.
- D9. 20 x 15 x 10 mm thick. Thin cream skin, patches of pink pigment, possibly part of complex decoration. Backing buff mortar.
- D10. 20 x 15 x 10 mm thick. Thin cream skin, with dark purplish-brown patches; possible calcareous deposit. Backing buff mortar, itself on little *op sig*.
- D11. 25 x 20 x 5 mm thick. Thin cream skin. Decoration of mustard-yellow, with brownish-red ?leaves and ?petals, translucent white band through middle.
- D12. 30 x 30 x 8 mm thick. Thin dark cream skin as background with red stripe. Backing fine off-white ‘cement’, similar to that in which tesserae are bedded.

GLASS

*Roman*  
A single small sherd of pale green window glass was found in context 1014 of Cutting BP II; it is 32 x 21 mm in size and 1 mm thick. It is slender evidence that there was at least one window in the putative bath-house.

*Medieval*  
Other glass comprises a group of five pale blue/green petal-like blobs, each applied to vessel sherds of a convex vessel. One of them (the one with the maximum



Blansby Park 2000

BP I 101

MEDIEVAL GLASS  
PRUNT

from KRAUTSTRUNK

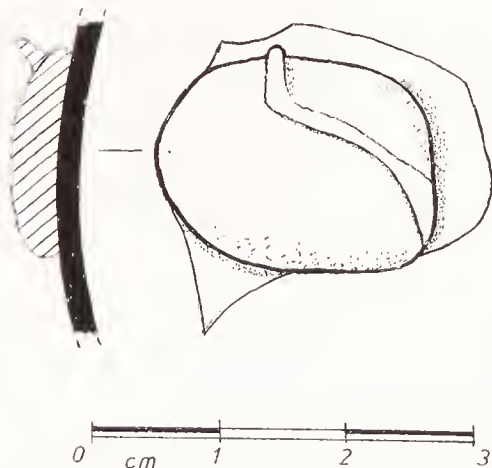


Fig. 25. Medieval glass prunt  
(BP I 101).

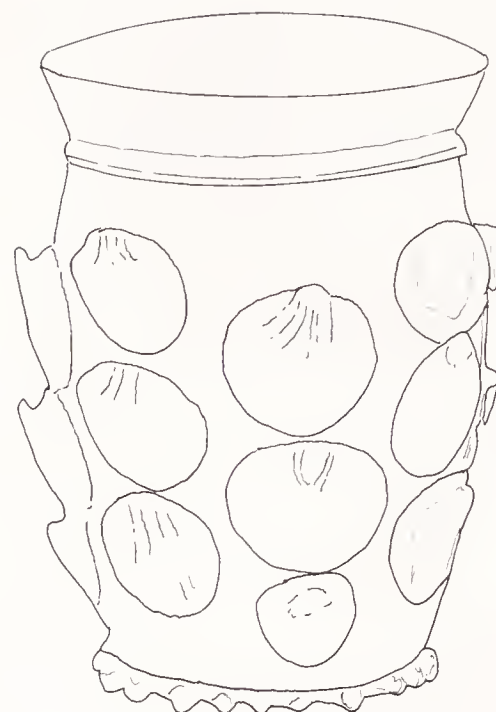


Fig. 26. Dutch medieval *Krautstrunk* (after  
Henkes 1994, 69, no. 17.5).

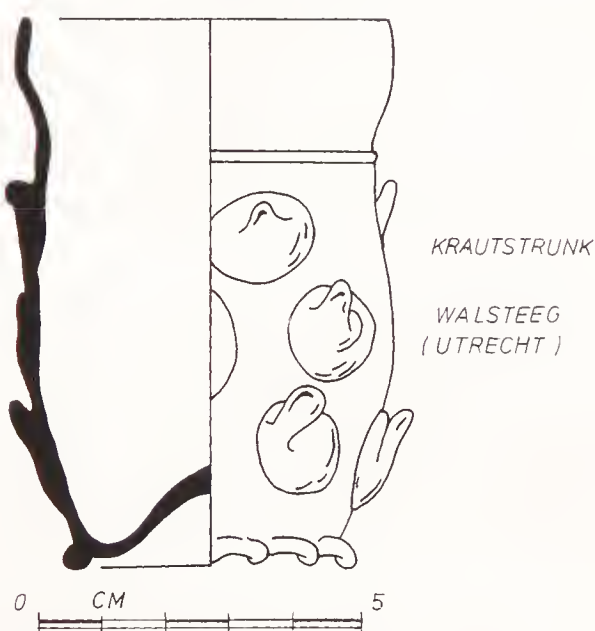


Fig. 27. *Krautstrunk* from the  
Walsteeg, Utrecht. Drawing by  
Hugh Wilmott.

amount of the vessel-side) is illustrated in Figure 25; such blobs are technically called 'prunts'.

The fragments of glass were found in the ploughsoil of the field north of the railway and also in the vicinity of the circular structure of the geophysical survey.

The pieces were examined by Dr Hugh Willmott, then at the University of Durham (now at Sheffield), who reports as follows:

Although the glass does have the classic blue/green Roman colour, it is somewhat later. This colour of glass is also typical of potash *Waldglas* produced in Germany from the high medieval period onwards. The five fragments are all small prunts, pulled upwards to points that would have been applied to a convex-sided vessel. Although several different beaker forms were decorated in this way, the curvature of the vessel is suggestive of only one, the *Krautstrunk* (Figs 26, 27). This was probably one of the most popular German drinking vessels of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and was also favoured in the Low Countries and Northern France. However, they never seem to have appealed to the English taste and are considerably rarer here.

How such a vessel comes to be at this site is less clear; almost every example seen in England comes from an urban context. Likewise, the fragments are in remarkably good condition, potash glass is prone to heavy decay particularly in ploughsoil.



The example shown in Figure 26 is from an early-sixteenth-century context at Kasteel Vredenburg near Utrecht (after Henkes 1994, 69, no. 17.5). That in Figure 27 is a drawing kindly provided by Dr Wilmott; it came from a late-fifteenth-century pit on the Walsteeg in Utrecht.

The occurrence of a fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Dutch/German import implies the presence somewhere in the vicinity of a high-status medieval residence.

It would seem that the forms of the Dutch/German drinking vessels were being used by the late medieval glass-makers at Rosedale and Hutton, further west in the National Park (Crossley and Aberg 1972). Among the vessels illustrated in that report are examples of 'jam-tart' and 'raspberry' prunts (*ibid.* Fig. 61, 41, and Fig. 67, 115–17). The Rosedale glass furnace has been reconstructed full-size at the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton-le-Hole.

## IRON

The only iron objects are three from the ploughsoil — an auger, three chain links and the tang and part of the blade of a knife. They may be Roman, but are more likely to be post-medieval. See below for a nail affixed to lead.

## COPPER ALLOY

The first object of this material is a bow-brooch, of second century date (Fig. 28). This was found in a high context in Cutting BP II (1011) (see Fig. 11 and p. 32). Its date appears to be anomalous in what is believed to be a Late Roman building, but its high provenance allows it to have been brought from elsewhere, either from other parts of the Blansby Park complex, or from a distant source; it is, however, in very good condition, with a fine patina.

Jim Halliday kindly identified the brooch as of Thealby type. These are discussed, and several similar brooches illustrated, by Hattatt (1989, 82, 333, Figs 40, 192). His no. 945 is similar to our example.

Brooches of Thealby type are dated by Hattatt to *c.* AD 150–200. They are found principally in Yorkshire north of the Humber; our example is thus in the 'home territory'.

## OTHER METALS (AND IRON)

In BP II (context 1005) a lead strip was found. It is rectangular, with cut edges, 35 x 11 mm, x 2 mm thick. It is bent in the centre at 45°, with a small iron nail (10 mm long) through its rear centre, to affix the lead to something else. The object may be part of a fitting in the bath-house.

## COINS

Five coins were found, four Roman and one medieval; only one (Valentinian I) was stratified (context 119 in BP I); the others (BP I 101) were in the ploughsoil in the field north of the railway. The third- and fourth-century range of the Roman coins suggests a later Roman date for the whole complex, as the pottery (below) also suggests; but there may be earlier Roman structures in deeper levels, as the second-century brooch (above) suggests.

The fourteenth-century silver penny again points to some medieval use or structures in the vicinity.

Dr Craig Barclay, of the Yorkshire Museum, has kindly identified the coins and his attributions follow:



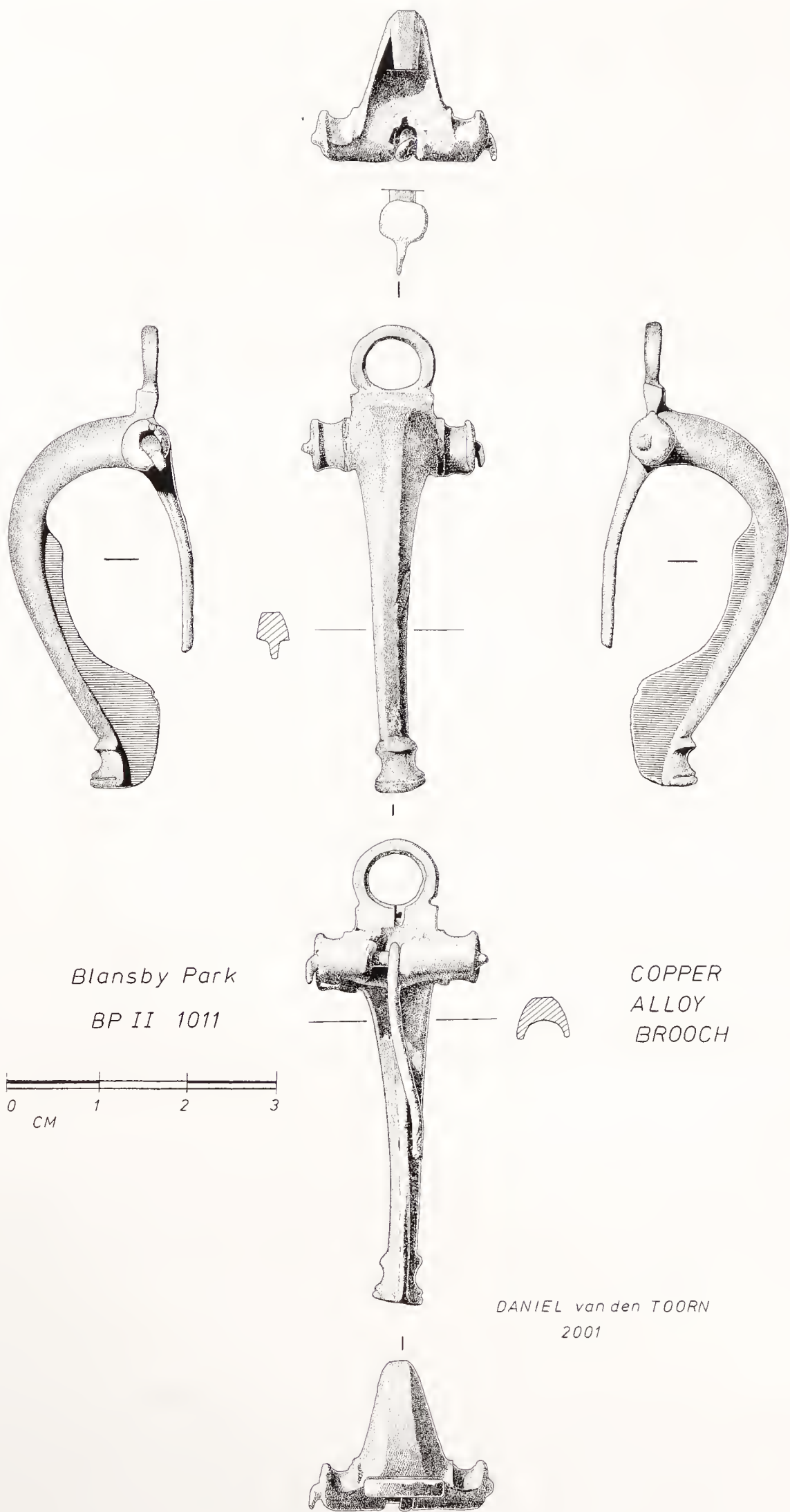


Fig. 28. Copper alloy brooch.



*Roman (context BP 101)*

1. Maximinus I; denarius  
Rome; AD 236  
Rev.) PM TR P II COS P P  
*RIC* 3  
1.60g
2. Probus; AE radiate  
Lyons; AD 276–82  
Rev.) SECVRITAS ORBIS  
*RIC* V.2, 49  
2.20g
3. House of Constantine I; AE3  
Uncertain mint; AD 330–47  
CONSTANTINOPOLIS type  
1.37g

*Roman (context BP I 119 (p. 23))*

4. Valentinian I; AE3  
Lyons; AD 367–75  
Rev.) GLORIA ROMANORVM  
*RIC* IX, Lyons 20a  
1.94g

*Medieval (context BP I 101)*

5. Edward II; penny; Class 11b  
Canterbury; c. 1310–14  
0.90g

## ROMAN POTTERY

Roman pottery was recovered from the ploughsoil in the field north of the railway (BP I 101, forty-seven sherds), stratified from Cutting BP I (twenty-four sherds) and from Cutting BP II (south of the railway, twenty-three sherds), a total of ninety-four sherds.

Dr Ian Lawton (2 Pear Tree Avenue, Upper Poppleton, York YO26 6HH) has kindly examined the material. His conclusion, that all the pottery is of third and fourth century date, is consistent with the evidence of the coin range, that the complex at Park Gate is, on present evidence, of the later Roman period, extending (as does the stratified coin) to the later decades of the fourth century, and possibly into the early fifth. Two key sherds are illustrated in Figure 29. The first is a reeded rim sherd of Crambeck ware, with painted red decoration on the rim and internal face of the pot. Dr Lawton dates this to later than c. AD 360, a date consistent with the coin of Valentinian I in the same context (BP I 119). The second is earlier, a sherd of a face jug, dated to the third century; this was found in BP II, context 1010 (see Fig. 29 and p. 32).

## MEDIEVAL POTTERY

A small number of medieval sherds were found in post-Roman contexts in both Cuttings BP I and II; they have not been examined by a specialist; in general they are not closely diagnostic in form, but the fabrics are those which are usual in north-east Yorkshire in the thirteenth-to-fourteenth centuries.

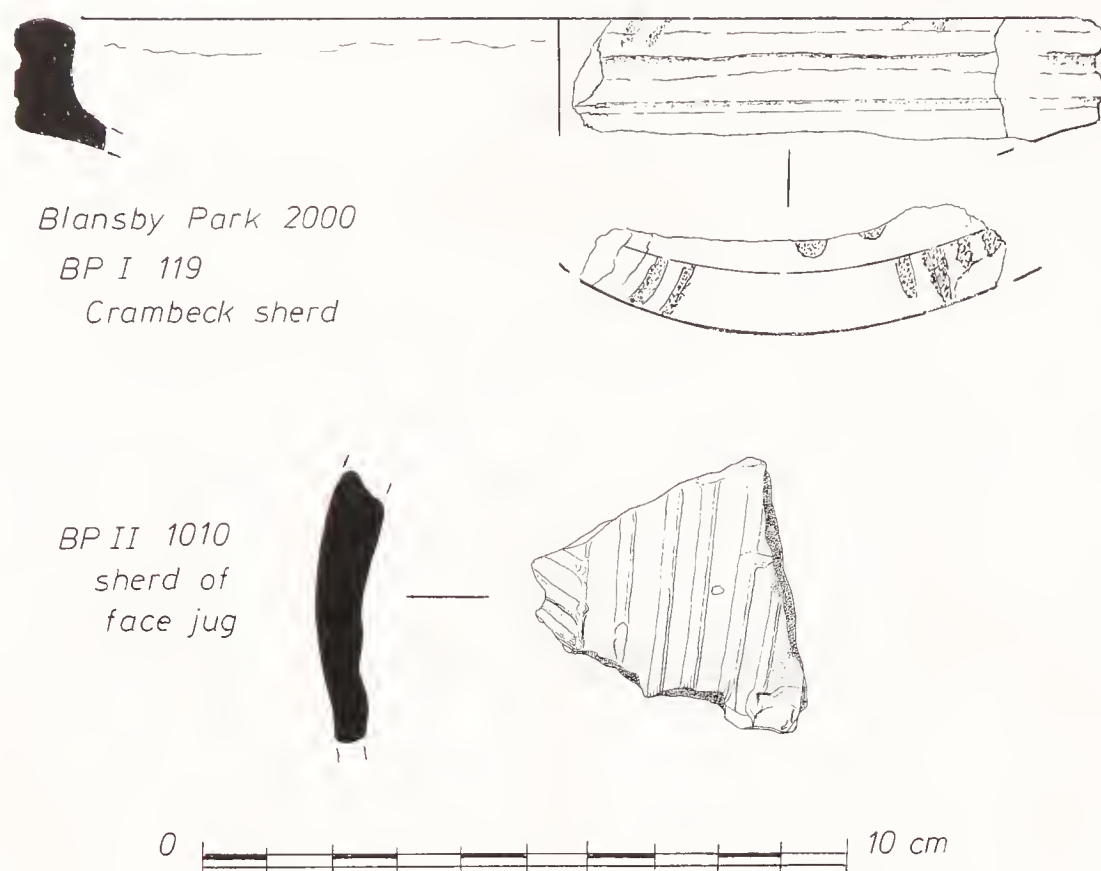


Fig. 29. Sherds of Crambeck and face jug.

## POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Eight post-medieval sherds were recovered from upper contexts in the bath-house area (Cutting BP II).

## CLAY PIPES

BP I: bowl of clay pipe, with foot; seventeenth century.

BP II 1002: bowl and fragment of stem of clay pipe, decorated on bowl with curving fluted strips; above this on one side TH, on other side IH; above this (around rim) swags; eighteenth century.

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## ROMAN COINS FROM UGTHORPE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By David Shotter

In 1998 three metal-detectorists recovered twenty-three early imperial *denarii* from a location which was evidently very close to the findspot of a much larger group of such coins in 1792.<sup>1</sup> The 1792-coins were revealed during ploughing near Ugthorpe Mill, and the boy who found them is said to have been able almost to fill 'two jacket-pockets' with the coins; this has been estimated recently<sup>2</sup> as amounting to approximately 200 coins, which may be regarded as an 'average size' for hoards of *denarii* found in Britain.

The owner of the land on which the coins were found in the eighteenth century sold the majority of them to local silversmiths, although five were 'saved', which Young was able to see: these were issues of Vespasian (posthumous), Nerva, Trajan (?), Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II. It is not, however, made clear whether either or both of the last two coins were issues of the reigns of Antoninus Pius or of Marcus Aurelius. At most, therefore, the date-range of Young's five coins is AD 79–180.

It is said that the coins found in 1792 were 'in a round hole, without any vessel to contain them'; it seems likely, therefore, that these coins had been deposited in a perishable bag or purse, possibly of leather, perhaps in a cist lined with a material such as stone or wood. It is worth noting that the finders of the 1998-coins also report seeing no vestige of a container. The late Professor Anne Robertson included in her *Inventory*<sup>3</sup> a Minute of the Society of Antiquaries which reported that four coins had been exhibited at Hartlepool in 1793; these had been found about four miles from Mulgrave Castle. No details were given, apart from the fact that the coins derived from a group that had been found by 'a Countryman' on breaking open the pottery vessel in which they were contained; it is said that the remainder of the coins had been sold to a local silversmith. Robertson suggested the possibility that this report was, in fact, another reference to the find of 1792 at Ugthorpe; in this case, the four coins exhibited at Hartlepool might conceivably have been amongst the five cited by Young. However, the differences of detail between the reports of the finds — particularly regarding the nature of concealment — are such as to suggest that, on current evidence at least, an open mind should be kept and that the reports are best regarded as referring to separate finds: the ties between the Ugthorpe-coins of 1792 and those found in 1998 are much stronger.

The twenty-three coins recovered in 1998 are distributed chronologically as follows:

Vespasian	1
Domitian (as Caesar under Vespasian)	3

<sup>1</sup> Details of the precise findspot of the coins are not published in the present paper, but are lodged (as are the coins themselves) with Whitby Museum. Brief notices and listings are to be found by R. Abdy in *Num. Chron.* 159 (1999), p. 342 and by Craig Barclay in *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain*, 11 (forthcoming). Such details as survive of the find of 1792 are published in G. Young, *History of Whitby* (Whitby 1817), II, p. 765; also F. Elgee, *The Romans in Cleveland* (York, 1923), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*, ed. D. A. Spratt, BAR 104 (Oxford, 1982), p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Robertson, *An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards* (London, 2000), nos 280 and 280A, citing a Minute of the Society of Antiquaries, 24 (1791–93), pp. 443–44.

Domitian	1
Nerva	1
Trajan	4 (or 5)*
Hadrian	3
Antoninus Pius	3 (or 4)*
Marcus Aurelius	1
Lucilla	1
Commodus	2
Uncertain	3 (or 1)*

(\* the possible attribution of the uncertain coins is discussed below)

## THE COINS

References in this section are as follows:

*BMIC*: Mattingly H., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 1940

*RIC*: Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A. and Sutherland C.H.V., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923–

Hill, 1970: Hill P.V., *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome, AD 98–148*, London

### a) *Vespasian (AD 69–79)*

1. Obv. IMP CAES VESP AVG CEN  
Rev. (Vespasian seated right) PONTIF MAXIM

*RIC* 65 AD 73

### b) *Domitian (as Caesar)*

2. Obv. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS COS VI  
Rev. (Salus standing right) PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS

*RIC* (Vesp), 243 AD 79

3. Obv. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS COS VI  
Rev. (Vesta seated left) PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS

*RIC* (Vesp), 244 AD 79

4. Obv. CAESAR AVG F [DOMITIANVS COS VI]  
Rev. (Clasped hands) PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS

*RIC* (Vesp), 246 AD 79

### c) *Domitian (as Augustus, AD 81–96)*

5. Obv. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XIII  
Rev. (Minerva standing left) IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P P P

*RIC* 189 AD 94

### d) *Nerva (AD 96–98)*

6. Obv. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS II P P  
Rev. (Libertas standing left) LIBERTAS PVBLICA

*RIC* 7 AD 96

### e) *Trajan (AD 98–117)*

7. Obv. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM  
Rev. (Abundantia seated left) PONT MAX TR POT COS II

*RIC* 11; Hill, 1970, 42 AD 98–99

8. Obv. [IMP NERVA] TRAI[AN AVG GERM]  
Rev. Illegible (coin broken and corroded)

AD 98–102

9. Obv. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P  
Rev. (Roma seated left) COS V P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC

*RIC* 116; Hill, 1970, 484 AD 108



10. Obv. IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GER DAC PARTH[ICO]  
 Rev. (Mars walking right) P M TR P COS VI P P SPQR  
*RIC* 337; Hill, 1970, 743 AD 116

*f) Hadrian (AD 117–38)*

11. Obv. [IMP CAES TRAIAN] HADRIANVS AVG  
 Rev. (Iustitia seated left) P M TR P COS II IVSTITIA  
*RIC* 42 AD 118
12. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS  
 Rev. (Roma standing left) COS III  
*RIC* 161 AD 125–28
13. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS  
 Rev. (Genius standing left) COS III  
*RIC* 173 AD 125–28

*g) Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61)*

14. Obv. [IMP T AEL CAES HADR ANTONINVS]  
 Rev. (Pontifical Instruments) [AVG PIVS P M TR P COS II]  
*RIC* 28–31 AD 139

(This coin is in a poor state, and might be an irregular issue, with a reverse of Pontifical Instruments coupled with the normal later obverse legend, ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P[.]; cf. *BMC* IV, p. 157, no.4)

15. Obv. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI  
 Rev. (Vesta standing left) COS IIII  
*RIC* 219 AD 152–53
16. Obv. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVIII  
 Rev. (Vesta standing left) COS IIII  
*RIC* 238 AD 154–55

*h) Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80)*

17. Obv. M ANTONINVS AVG GERM SARM  
 Rev. (Pile of Arms) TR P XXXI IMP VIII COS III P P DE SARM  
*RIC* 367 AD 176–77
18. Obv. LVCILLA AVGVSTA  
 Rev. (Pudicitia standing left) PVDICITIA  
*RIC* (Marcus), 780 c. AD 170

*i) Commodus (AD 180–92)*

19. Obv. M COMMODVS [ANTON AVG PIVS]  
 Rev. (Aequitas standing left) [TR P VIII IMP]VI COS IIII P P  
*RIC* 59 AD 183
20. Obv. M COMM [ANT AVG P BRIT] FEL  
 Rev. (Commodus addressing soldiers) [P M TR P X] IMP VII COS IIII P P FID EXERC  
*RIC* 110 c. AD 184–85

*j) Uncertain coins*

- 21–22. Two coins corroded together, with (apparently) the two obverse faces exposed; one of the coins may be an issue of Trajan, whilst on the other ]P P TR P XVIII can be read on the obverse, indicating it as a coin of Antoninus Pius of AD 154–55.
23. Illegible fragment

## DISCUSSION

The constitution of the present group does not preclude its assessment as an independent small hoard; however, the fact that it is a little ‘top-heavy’ towards the early end of the

chronological range, together with the proximity of its find-spot to that of the 1792-coins, makes it more likely that the recently-discovered coins should be regarded as an additional part of the 1792-hoard.

Hoard, such as that from Ugthorpe, are sometimes regarded as indicators of military or political unrest in Britain. This interpretation tends to be widely applied to hoards of the Antonine period, especially those of the reign of Marcus Aurelius;<sup>4</sup> yet such hoards are well spread over the fifty years or so which made up the 'Antonine period', with terminations in the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Whilst it is undoubtedly true that there were disturbed episodes during this period, especially in the frontier-zone itself,<sup>5</sup> widespread disturbance in the hinterland seems far less likely over such an extended period.

It is generally accepted that disturbances did not lead to the deposition of hoards, but rather to their non-collection. Most hoards should be regarded, in the absence of banking institutions, as collected savings which were concealed in a suitable place which was perhaps known only to the owner; the owner would then be able to add to or take from his savings as he required. Whilst it is difficult to support the idea of prolonged and widespread disturbance in the province in the second century, life was, for many, uncertain in other ways.

The spread of disease, largely due to military movements and transfers, will undoubtedly have led to more frequent unexpected deaths; many savings-collections may, therefore, have been left undiscovered simply due to the death — natural or from disease — of the owner. Indeed, if the owner — as is possible, given the proximity to York — had military connections, then the chances of death from disease would appear to have been higher. However, the second half of the second century appears to have been a more generally unsettled time for people — insecurity caused by the demands on individuals of frequent empire-wide warfare, as well as deepening economic problems.

Economic 'downturn' manifests itself in the coinage; we see, during the second century, the progressive loss from usage of the lower denominations in the coinage-system — presumably due to price-inflation. By the end of the century, the *denarius* and *sestertius* were the only coins left in common use. The silver coinage itself also suffered; although there had been in the past — for example, in Nero's reign — episodes of debasement and devaluation, the state of the silver coinage during the Flavian and Trajanic periods was recovering.<sup>6</sup> The second century, however, saw a renewed, gradual, decline in the silver content of the *denarius*, followed by significant debasement early in the reign of Septimius Severus; by that time, the silver-content of the *denarius* had sunk below 50 per cent.

Such problems must have contributed to the sense of unease, which is reflected in contemporary literature.<sup>7</sup> For people with monetary savings, this may well have translated into a practice of using contemporary coins and attempting to retain those older issues which had a stronger intrinsic value — much as people did in the case of British silver coins prior to the onset of decimalisation. The presence in the 1998-group of coins from Ugthorpe of a strong number of Flavian and Trajanic issues, together with the absence of coins later than the reign of Commodus, may well reflect this phenomenon, and

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Robertson, 'Romano-British Coin-hoards: their numismatic, archaeological and historical significance', in *Coins and the Archaeologist*, ed. P. J. Casey and R. Reece (London, 1988), pp. 13–38, esp. p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. A. Shotter, *The Roman Frontier in Britain* (Preston, 1996), pp. 98ff.

<sup>6</sup> G. C. Boon, 'Counterfeiting in Roman Britain', *Scientific American*, 231, no. 6 (1974), pp. 120–30; note Trajan's acquisition of 'silver-stocks' by recalling older — that is, pre-Neronian reform — silver coins (*Dio Cassius* 68.15.4).

<sup>7</sup> See B. P. Rcardon, 'The Anxious Pagan', *Échos du Monde Classique*, 17 (1973), pp. 81–93.



indicate that, in the later-second century, the Romano-British were experiencing an unease similar to their contemporaries in other parts of the empire.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Roger Dalladay, Margaret Newman and Graham and Roger Pickles at Whitby Museum for bringing these coins to my attention and for facilitating my examination of them.





## THE ROMANESQUE TOMB-SLAB AT BRIDLINGTON PRIORY

By Rita Wood

*The slab at Bridlington Priory is described; various other Tournai marble slabs and fonts in England are compared with it. The four motifs — symmetrical wyverns, a building, the fable of the Fox and Crane, a lion — are interpreted. Lastly, it is suggested that the slab was ordered by the priory to commemorate the founder, Walter de Gant.*

### *The monument in Bridlington Priory*

The spacious Gothic parish church in the 'old town' of Bridlington was formed from just the nave of the Augustinian conventual church. The earliest phases of the priory, which had been founded some time between 1109 and 1114, are represented by two reconstructed sections of an arcade, a few fragments and one virtually complete, and very unusual, tomb-slab in black Tournai marble (Figs 1, 2). It is coffin-shaped in plan and about 0.14 m/6 in. thick. The flat top is filled by shallow carving, and this surface, once waxed and polished by medieval craftsmen, still gleams finely. The depth of carving varies, being as deep as 15 mm in some places, but the ground is always smoothly-graded. The design within its frame measures approximately 0.7 m/28 ins at the head end by 2.08 m/82 in. long. The carving has a narrow plain moulding as a frame all round it. Outside this is a broader concave quadrant chamfer with a radius of some 45 mm. The concave chamfer is discontinuous, being absent from the foot end and once present, but no longer complete, at the head. Though present on both sides at the foot end, it tapers to nothing at the head. The variation in its occurrence increases the taper of the carved field, making that more distinctly coffin-shaped. The sides below the chamfer are approximately vertical; they are roughly cut and show characteristic fracture patterns. The unworked sides suggest that the slab was once embedded in a plinth or tomb-chest: the well-preserved surface of the carvings on the top indicates that this original setting was elevated well above the general pavement. A few other substantial remains of Tournai marble tomb-slabs survive elsewhere in England, notably one from the Cluniac Lewes Priory, now in Southover Church, Lewes, three others at Salisbury, Ely and Lincoln cathedrals and one in Westminster Abbey. These five are broken, incomplete or very worn, whereas the Bridlington slab has suffered comparatively minor damage and little wear.<sup>1</sup>

The tomb-slab is at present displayed near the west end of the south aisle, raised on blocks in the manner of a tabletop. At this convenient height details of the carving are easy to approach, but the position must arouse concern that the stresses being engendered will eventually lead to fracture. The break in the tomb-slab in Lincoln Cathedral is due to disturbance or accident in medieval times, but it illustrates how easily the unsupported Bridlington stone might split across the centre (Fig. 3).<sup>2</sup> As indicated above, the slab was

<sup>1</sup> Additionally, incomplete or worn tomb-slabs survive at Lewes, Salisbury and Westminster Abbey. Unpublished list by Freda Anderson, see note 4.

<sup>2</sup> G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln: the Sculpture of the Cathedral* (Lincoln, 1988), p. 93.



Fig. 1. The tomb-slab at Bridlington Priory. From tracings.



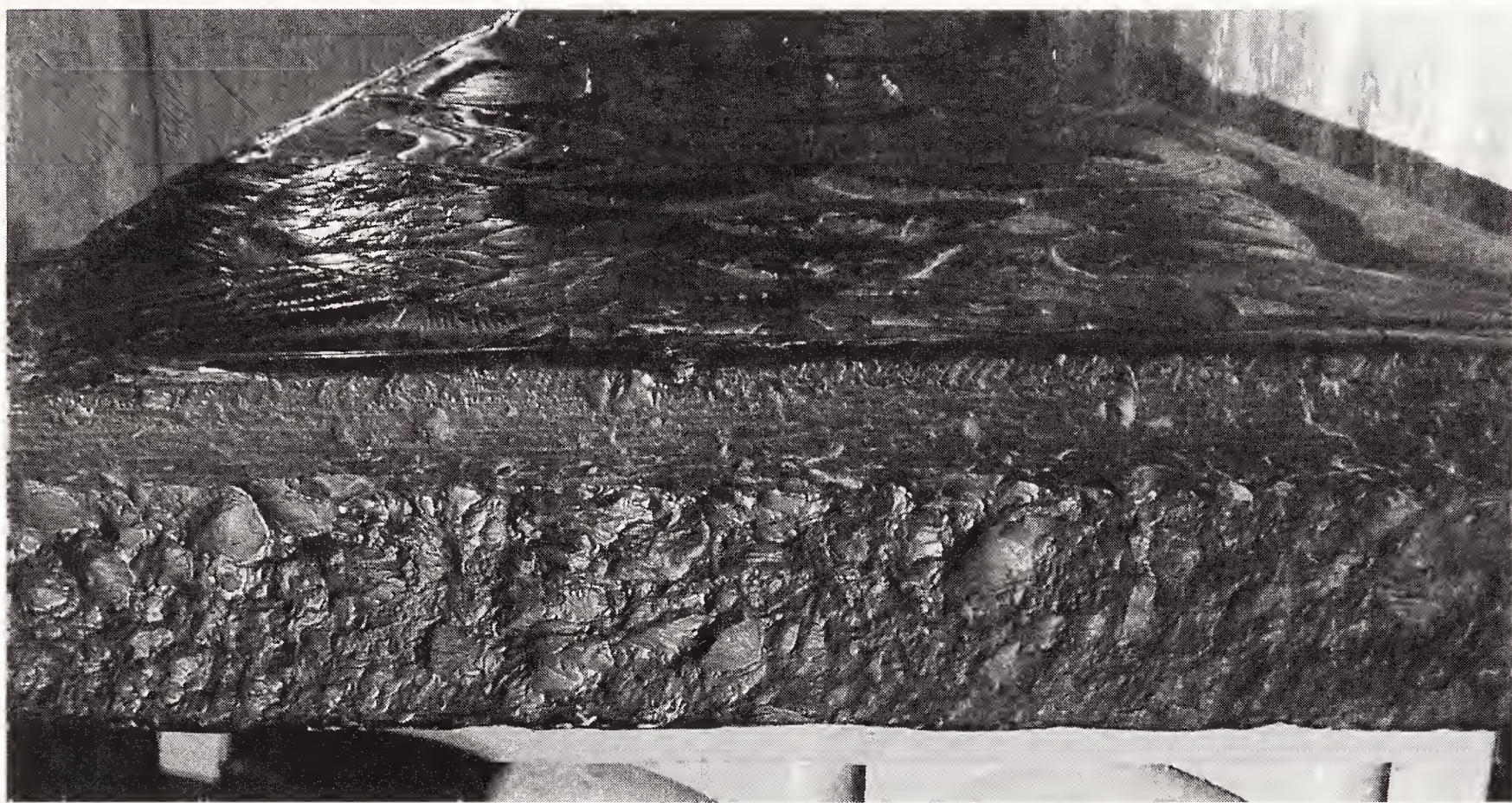


Fig. 2. Detail of the head end of the slab showing the general surface, the concave chamfer and the rough vertical side.

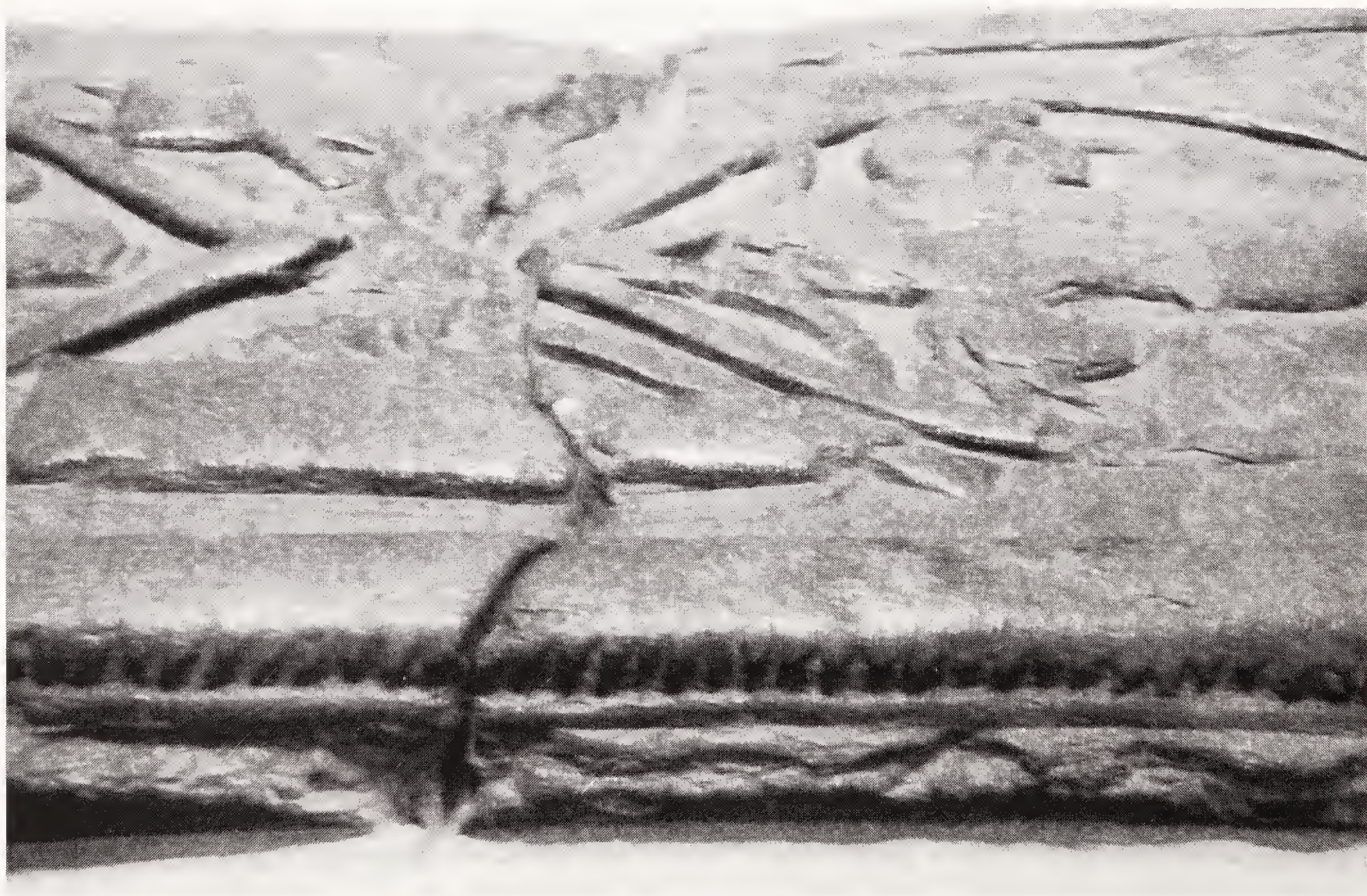


Fig. 3. Side view of the slab in Lincoln Cathedral showing a different edge moulding and the fracture. Photo: the author.



designed to be set on a solid base. Although the south aisle has sufficient light for general purposes, the carved surface appears poorly-lit, due to its dark substance. It also collects small flakes of plaster from the adjacent wall. However, when the sun is reflected across it from the north nave wall, its beauty can be appreciated both for the sheen of its surface and for the crispness and confidence of the workmanship. An engraving of 1831 shows the slab was then displayed in the centre of the nave towards the west end, which would seem ideal.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The Tournai marble trade*<sup>4</sup>

The stone from Tournai is not a true marble, that is, a metamorphic rock, but is a sedimentary rock of Carboniferous date (technically described as a calcite mudstone or micrite), which has been finished by polishing. The outcrop in the sides of the Scheldt valley near the town was first worked in Roman times. In the twelfth century, the Tournai area produced ready-sculpted items for sale, while it is thought that later in the century some stone was exported rough and carved at sites in southern England. Like the English limestones such as those of Frosterley, Purbeck and Alwalton which took its place in this country by the end of the century, Tournai marble was highly prized for fittings in the interiors of churches such as fonts,<sup>5</sup> decorative capitals and shafting. The range of dates usually suggested for the tomb-slabs surviving in England covers the period 1139 to 1165. Even if some items of Tournai stone are accepted as carved in England and might be dated c. 1160–65, as has been suggested by Freda Anderson, the Bridlington slab is not among them. It will be demonstrated that the Bridlington slab is of Flemish manufacture.<sup>6</sup>

At Bridlington the small details of tiles, fur, claws and feathers are differentiated in a lively manner and are cut with assurance, while outlines are drawn freehand. The general appearance is thus vigorous and not over-refined. This boldness of handling suggests the slab came from an established factory, while the resemblance to details in a variety of other examples reinforces the presumption that this slab was exported from the Tournai region and not carved in England. The unusual 'bangles' above the paws of the animals on the Bridlington slab are seen on lions on the font of Zedelghem, Belgium, and the

<sup>3</sup> M. Prickett, *An Historical and Architectural Description of the Priory Church of Bridlington in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1831), pl. V; plan, pl. X. I owe this and other references to notes in M. Thurlby, 'Observations on the Twelfth-Century Sculpture from Bridlington Priory', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, ed. C. Wilson (Leeds, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> At a seminar for the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* at the Courtauld Institute in June 1999, Prof. John Prentice spoke on Tournai petrology and the late Dr Freda Anderson on the recognition and dating of carvings in England. The author acknowledges their contributions to the present paper. For a map depicting the trade in fonts, with an analysis, see G. C. Dunning, 'The distribution of black Tournai fonts', *Antiq. J.*, 24 (1944), pp. 66–68; Dunning notes that 'the distribution of [the grave-slabs] accords with that of the fonts'.

<sup>5</sup> F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (Oxford 1908, reprinted London 1985), pp. 166, 168–70, 172, 203–05.

<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that the fashion in England for Tournai marble was led by the Bishop of Winchester, see G. Zarnecki, 'Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture', in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. S. Macready & F. H. Thompson (London, 1986), p. 160. Further, see *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, ed. G. Zarnecki (London, 1984), item 145, pp. 181–82; F. Anderson, 'Uxor mea: the first wife of the first William of Warenne', *Sussex Archaeol. Collns.*, 130 (1992), pp. 107–29; Zarnecki, *Art and Patronage*, note 37, disputes Anderson's 1984 dating of the Gundrada slab to the last quarter of the twelfth century, but she still maintained it in 1999; E. Schwarzbaum, 'Three Tournai Tomb-slabs in England', *Gesta*, 20 (1981), pp. 89–97; G. Zarnecki, *The Early Sculpture of Ely Cathedral* (London, 1958), pp. 40–42, pls 100, 101; Zarnecki, *Lincoln*, pp. 93–96; F. Anderson, 'The Tournai marble tomb-slabs in Salisbury Cathedral', *BAA Trans.*, (1996); *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 1, RCHME (London, 1924), p. 78, pl. 202; F. Anderson, 'Three Westminster Abbots: a problem of identity', *J. Church Monuments Soc.*, 4 (1989).



animals' manes and limbs are made in a similar way to those on that font.<sup>7</sup> The capitals of the building depicted in the slab are worn, but an early nineteenth-century engraving of it shows wide capitals with three upright leaves: the fonts at St Mary Bourne (Hants) and in St Peter's, Ipswich (Suffolk) have capitals like this.<sup>8</sup> Similar conventions for the roofs are seen on the Ely slab, but generally the work on the Ely slab is finer than that at Bridlington.<sup>9</sup> Of all the tomb-slabs in England, this is the least sophisticated. Its freehand drawing means that, for example, symmetry is implied rather than present, and the base line of the building is not straight. The style of this slab is the closest to the work on fonts, where a bold handling would perhaps have sufficed for a general audience: other tomb-slabs in England are more precisely cut and have been linked to individual patrons with refined expectations and enough wealth to indulge them. The coarser workmanship in the example at the priory must imply that an elaborated, individual, tomb-slab was required but that funds were limited. If it had merely been a question of acquiring an item in a fashionable stone, a font, made from smaller pieces and erected on arrival, would almost certainly have been cheaper.

It has been said that 'the Tournai products were normally sent for sale ready-made, and the tombstones were decorated in such a way that they could be used for anyone'.<sup>10</sup> This seems to be the case with the slab in the cloister of Westminster Abbey which shows an anonymous bareheaded abbot with crosier and no other ornament, and for the slab at Salisbury, of which the leafy border and dragon under the foot of the bishop have been said to have a close similarity to a slab at Chalons-sur-Marne.<sup>11</sup> It would have been economical to repeat designs: nevertheless, most slabs in England are highly individualised. George Zarnecki suggests that the Ely slab depends closely for its design on an English model, and illustrates a painting from the Shaftesbury Psalter. The 'Tree of Jesse' design on the Lincoln slab is another singular image, and one not readily understood as suitable for a tomb: the subject is assumed to have been ordered by a learned patron, probably Bishop Alexander. Like these two examples, the design for the Bridlington slab is not 'off-the-shelf' but bespoke: it will be shown that three of the four motifs are peculiar to the Augustinians. The priory therefore seems to have been involved in the design of the slab.

#### *Previous discussions of the tomb-slab*

Despite its rarity and good condition, the tomb-slab has attracted interest only intermittently. There are three serious discussions of this particular slab. The earliest is the account of the discovery of the carving by W. C. Trevelyan on a visit to the priory in 1823. He says that he noticed 'some appearances of sculpture' on the underside of a tombstone displayed near the font and 'standing on two low pillars of masonry'. This tombstone showed an inscription and date of 1587, but on the slab being reversed, the

<sup>7</sup> For Zedelghem, see Bond, *Fonts*, p. 168. There are scattered examples of bangles in Romanesque sculpture: Barton Seagrave (Northants); Tommerby (Jutland); La Sauve Majeur (Gironde), and on a seventh-century Pictish slab (B. Mus.).

<sup>8</sup> W. C. Trevelyan, 'An account of a curious slab at Bridlington Church, Yorkshire', *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 2 (1832), pp. 168–69; C. H. Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts in England: the group of seven late Norman fonts from Belgium* (London, 1909), illus. opp. pp. 21, 26.

<sup>9</sup> There are resemblances in the concave chamfered frame and in the form of roof tiles and finials, see Zarnecki, *Ely*, pl. 100. Schwarzbaum, *Gesta*, p. 91, likens other tomb-slabs to fine sculpture at Tournai cathedral.

<sup>10</sup> Zarnecki, *Ely*, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Wiltshire* (1963) pp. 416–17 and quoting N. Shortt. F. Anderson, 'The Tournai marble tomb-slab in Salisbury Cathedral', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral, BAA Conf. Trans.* 17 (Leeds, 1996), p. 87, notes several Mosan parallels to this slab, but still makes links to Lewes.



medieval carving was revealed.<sup>12</sup> Thus, some fifty years after the Dissolution, the slab had been reused. Trevelyan compared the motif at the head end to work on the Bridekirk font (which he thought was tenth century), while the 'Fox and Dove' reminded him of Aesop's fable of the Fox and the Stork. From this last remark and from its accompanying engraving, the area round the mouth of the jar was probably already damaged. The next mention of the slab is as the first entry in a catalogue of medieval grave-slabs in the Riding which appeared in this journal in 1969. Understandably, the Tournai slab was the foremost in the area for age, condition and richness.<sup>13</sup> The third and most recent discussion is by Jill Franklin as part of her elucidation of the form of the twelfth-century priory.<sup>14</sup> This is a complete and thorough consideration of the known facts, and one to which the present author particularly is indebted, but her opinion as to the person commemorated will be re-examined after an interpretation of the four motifs.

This slab is notable even in a European context, but apart from brief, necessary remarks in discussions of other Tournai objects in the south of England, these three are the only passages yet devoted to it. The relative neglect by students and the slab's peripheral position in the church are perhaps the result of its singularity, its blackness and its hybrid character. There is a general uncertainty as to how to categorise the slab. Is it to be discussed with English Romanesque sculpture, or should it await a scholar of the Tournai industry?<sup>15</sup> How can this important monument be related to the priory, to its history, without any context, inscription or records? And finally, whatever is that carved on it? Visitors to the priory who focus on the slab quickly recognise the dragons and the lion. Not surprisingly, the pointed teeth and ready claws of these creatures usually discourage any further inspection. It will now be shown that, despite appearances, all four motifs are appropriate, even benevolent.

#### *The four subjects on the tomb-slab*

Coffin-shaped slabs are designed to be laid, as here, with the head to the west. There are four motifs arranged along the length from head to foot (Fig. 1). At the head end, the first motif is a symmetrical pair of not dragons but wyverns (Fig. 4). Strange as it may seem, the winged wyvern was used to illustrate the chapter on Snake in some texts of the bestiary. The meanings given to Snake in these texts are usually negative, but there was one that had survived from classical times which saw the snake as a symbol of immortality because it shed its skin to reveal a 'new' body.<sup>16</sup> The wyvern used in this sense, as a symbol of life after death, was popular in southern Germany and Austria and is carved at Augustinian and Benedictine sites there. In German examples in which the wyverns accompany a human head, a symmetrical pair of them often come out of the mouth, in the same way as foliage may do.<sup>17</sup> In this manner the imagery suggests the power of the resurrection both as living breath and as a new body emerging from the skin

<sup>12</sup> Trevelyan, *Archaeol. Aeliana*; Prickett, *Priory Church*, pl. IX.

<sup>13</sup> J. R. Earnshaw, 'Medieval Grave Slabs from the Bridlington District', *IJ*, 42 (1969), pp. 333-44, plate 1, slab 1.

<sup>14</sup> J. A. Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory: an Augustinian Church and Cloister in the Twelfth Century', in *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, pp. 44-61.

<sup>15</sup> It is not included, for instance, in the incomplete draft of her Ph. D. thesis on 'Early Medieval Sculpture in the North-East' by K. J. Galbraith, Soc. Ant. MS 903/4/2.

<sup>16</sup> J. Holli Wheatcroft, 'Classical Ideology in the Medieval Bestiary', in *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. D. Hassig (New York, 1999), pp. 141-59.

<sup>17</sup> Examples from Quedlingburg, Spieskappel, Königsutter, and Goslar illus. in A. Legner, *Romanische Kunst in Deutschland* (Munich, 1982), pls 95, 99, 101, 102, 103; H. Thummler, *Romanik in Westfalen* (Recklinghausen, 1964), p. 68, at Billerbeck.





Fig. 4. Detail of the symmetrical wyverns.

of the 'old' man.<sup>18</sup> That the wyverns are paired is itself an allusion to heaven, for ultimate order and perfection were demonstrated by pattern, particularly by symmetry. However, the motif on the slab did not necessarily come to Bridlington from Germany through Tournai. The motif of symmetrical snakes is one of a number of subjects introduced by the Augustinians to the Wolds churches in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> Symmetrical snakes and several other German motifs were already in use locally at Kirkburn Church, which is usually dated *c.* 1140 and belonged to the Augustinian priory at Guisborough. In contrast to the symmetrical wyverns, dragons in other English sculpture of the first half of the twelfth century are often single and of an evil kind.<sup>20</sup>

Below the wyverns is what can only be a representation of the rotunda of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with, inside it, the edicule built over the tomb of the Resurrection (Fig. 5). Earnshaw in 1969 accurately described this motif as a 'Byzantine-style church containing a shrine' but only a recent publication by Martin Biddle has made its interpretation as the tomb of Christ so obvious. The independent Augustinian Order of the Holy Sepulchre had a priory in Jerusalem from 1114 until the expulsion of the Crusaders by Saladin in 1187, and the canons had within their church the two most holy shrines in Christendom, that is, the rock of Calvary and the Tomb. The representation of the rotunda on the Bridlington tomb-slab is close to that on seals from the

<sup>18</sup> R. Wood, 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life*, 14 (2000), pp. 8–13. In some German examples, the wyverns breathe into the man's nostrils or ears and the motif resembles the pre-Christian 'man between animals' seen, for example, on the Sutton Hoo purse-lid.

<sup>19</sup> See R. Wood, 'The Augustinians and the Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', *East Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (2003).

<sup>20</sup> V. J. Thompson, in a talk to the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society based on her Ph. D thesis 'The understanding of death in England from *c.* 850 to *c.* 1100', recognised 'a good worm and a bad worm' in pre-Conquest grave-markers. The 'good worm' was equated with J. T. Lang's 'winged beast', see *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 3, *York and Eastern Yorkshire*, York stones 34–40.





Fig. 5. The building.



Fig. 6. The fable of the Fox  
and Crane.



Priory of the Holy Sepulchre dateable to between 1155 and 1189.<sup>21</sup> However, the edicule within it has been given the form of a ciborium, the canopy over an altar. This simplification was probably deliberate, suggesting a parallel between the Resurrection of Christ and the Eucharist, and this might, in turn, indicate that the slab was positioned near an altar. Another feature emphasising the conventional nature of the motif is the presence of the two lines of battlements, which are not found in any of the more reliable contemporary representations of the buildings. The space within the edicule is at the centre of the slab, a tacit assurance of resurrection for the deceased.

On the slab, the roof of the rotunda has closely-packed three-dimensional stone slates just as an actual roof in northern Europe might have, while the edicule has a smooth roof marked with an incised trellis grid pattern. Rather than representing the texture of an actual roof, the incised pattern could be a reference to the particular sanctity of the smaller building.<sup>22</sup> This spiritual interpretation of the pattern would be the preferred one in England, but it was not necessarily employed in Flanders. For example, the black font at Winchester was probably a standard Tournai product, and it shows scale pattern (or slates with a rounded skirt) on the highest roofs of a church, and a trellis grid (that is, lozenge-shaped slates or shingles) on the aisle roof, both patterns being of a similar density and outlined in the same way by raised lines. The distinction in the patterns used on the Bridlington slab would again suggest that a model was supplied from England.

The fable of the Fox and the Crane is the third motif on the tomb-slab (Fig. 6). This fable also occurs at Kirkburn, on a decayed corbel and a nineteenth-century one.<sup>23</sup> Unlike other parts of the slab, where damage has occurred to the vulnerable edge or corner, here the centre of the slab shows wear, although the important outlines are still clear. The loss has been in the flaking away of the heads of the two creatures and, even more unfortunately as will be explained, the smoothing away of all surface details of the tall jar, from which the Crane feeds but which the Fox can only sniff at. The moral of the fable as given by Aesop may be restated as 'do as you would be done by', which is not a particularly Christian one but only 'the law and the prophets' (Matt. 7:12). Perhaps understandably therefore, this fable was not so popular with clerical designers as those other stories in which the fox can be identified with the Devil and a distinctively Christian moral urged upon the listeners. Nor does the original fable of Aesop seem at all relevant on a tomb-slab. However, it is possible to derive a lesson from it which is appropriate to the context, as outlined below.

In twelfth-century sculpture the fable is also depicted at Melbourne, Derbyshire, and Holt, Worcestershire.<sup>24</sup> In the example at Melbourne the Crane drinks from a tall fluted vessel and it holds a ball in one foot (Fig. 7). A ball is the attribute of the Crane in the bestiary — one Crane keeps watch at night on behalf of the flock and, to be sure that it stays alert, the bird on watch holds up a ball. This watchfulness of the Crane can be interpreted as the believer being always alert for danger from temptation, but also as the Christian expectation of the Second Coming and Judgment (Matt. 26:41; 24:42). The latter interpretation would certainly apply to the twelfth-century example at Kirkburn,

<sup>21</sup> M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 89–98. For the seals, see fig. 40, pp. 39 and 113. Compare a carving of the Marys at the tomb on a capital at Chadenac (Charente-Maritime), see L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory: the Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981) fig. 32: the Augustinians had 'a disproportionate number of foundations in this region', pp. 47–48.

<sup>22</sup> See R. Wood, 'Geometric Patterns in English Romanesque Sculpture', *JBA*, 154, pp. 12–14 (grid patterns).

<sup>23</sup> The old corbel has the same scene as the tomb-slab: that is the second meal, that given by the Crane: the Victorian restorer, in ignorance of the original intention and almost certainly without licence, introduced an illustration of the first meal.

<sup>24</sup> K. Varty, *Reynard the Fox* (Leicester, 1967), pp. 99–100, pls. 161, 164.





Fig. 7. The Crane at Melbourne, on a capital at the chancel arch.



Fig. 8. The birds at Helmstedt.



Fig. 9. The lion.



where the context for many corbel subjects is the Second Coming. Watching through the 'night' of this world and, correspondingly, waiting for the dawn of the general resurrection are themes of several extant sermons of St Augustine, whose writings are illustrated in many of the carvings at Kirkburn. If the usual character of the Fox, as the Devil, is worked into Aesop's fable, a new moral can be drawn on the lines of the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–25) or, put more plainly, Romans 8:18.<sup>25</sup> The teaching of the enhanced fable would be that whereas the Fox has its fill on earth, the Crane may have to wait but will feast eternally in heaven. The jar in the example at Melbourne is fluted, which supports the new interpretation because the blessed in heaven were sometimes shown as a pair of doves or peacocks who drink from a chalice with a fluted bowl. In one German example, the two birds are differentiated and it could well be a crane that is shown drinking with the peacock in Figure 8.<sup>26</sup> The Melbourne Crane, and perhaps that at Holt, have the characteristic founced tail of the species, just as in later twelfth-century bestiaries, whereas the German and Bridlington examples, and probably also that at Kirkburn, omit this feature. A photograph taken by Katharine Galbraith suggests a diagonal fluting might have existed on the jar on the tomb-slab, but this was not detected on site.<sup>27</sup>

Augustinians can reasonably be connected with Melbourne and possibly also with Holt. There is no documentary evidence for the building or patronage of Melbourne church, but it seems likely that it 'was built by Henry I c. 1120 as an appendage of his manor of Melbourne. Presumably the church was served by a royal chaplain, and he may have been Adelulf'. The idea that it was built by Bishop Adelulf, in retreat from Carlisle in the period 1133 to 1153, is not considered likely by either Richard Gem or, more recently, Janet Burton.<sup>28</sup> Whatever the patronage or initial establishment at Melbourne, the themes and motifs of the sculpture at the chancel arch and elsewhere can be paralleled at Augustinian sites. The use of the fable of the Fox and Crane at Holt could also have been due to Augustinians, since the nearest house of religious to that church in the first half of the twelfth century was one of Austin canons. This was the house at Witton, now a suburb of Droitwich, founded about 1135 and transferred to Studley about 1151.

At the foot of the Bridlington tomb-slab, and inverted in relation to the three upper motifs, is a moustachioed lion with large human-like eyes and a well-developed shaggy mane (Fig. 9). This is a lion with human characteristics,<sup>29</sup> and its importance suggests that it represents Christ. The creature has its mouth open in what it would therefore be more sensible to read as a broad smile or even a laugh rather than as a threat. The toothy smile of the lion is another example of the unsophisticated workmanship on this particular slab. Whereas in medieval polite society an open-mouthed smile, together with its bad teeth and unsavoury breath, was discouraged in favour of a smile with closed lips, among naive sculptors there were no such constraints and a toothy grin would convey pleasure or a hearty welcome. Many English carvings of c. 1150 have examples of this

<sup>25</sup> '... the sufferings we now endure bear no comparison with the splendour, as yet unrevealed, which is in store for us.' (N.E.B.)

<sup>26</sup> J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W. F. Volbach, *Europe in the Dark Ages* (London, 1969), fig. 119A, shows an eighth-century tomb in Pavia with symmetrical peacocks drinking from a fluted chalice. Fig. 5 is taken from A. Legner, *Romanische Kunst*, pl. 156, showing fragments of a plaster floor in Helmstedt, c. 1150.

<sup>27</sup> T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (reprinted Stroud, 1992), p. 110. Kit Galbraith's photo, in the Conway Library, is used as Varty, *Reynard*, pl. 165.

<sup>28</sup> R. Gem, 'Melbourne, Church of St Michael and St Mary', *The Nottingham Area*, Roy. Archaeol. Inst. Proc. of Summer Meeting 1989, Supplement to Journal 146, ed. N. H. Cooper (Leeds, 1989), p. 29; J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 95–97.

<sup>29</sup> Compare a small fragment from St Albans, a lion's head with moustache, large eyes and human colouring, illus. in Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art*, item 152e, p. 187.



open-mouthed smile, while at Melbourne there is a grand lion which grins without showing its teeth.<sup>30</sup> The full-face smile of the lion was almost certainly specified by the patron in England since the posture and expression are quite unlike those of 'lions' on other Tournai works.

It will be remembered that burials are traditionally laid facing east, which symbolises that the deceased 'looks for' the dawn of the resurrection. Consistent with that idea, the deceased would 'see' the lion the right way up: that is, the smiling lion represents the resurrected Christ, rising like the dawn in the east and welcoming him (or her) to heaven. Similar ideas are used on a tomb-slab in Northampton, where the deceased is represented by a bearded face at the centre of the slab.<sup>31</sup> In this case, the smiling lion is at the head end together with a cross pattern, while three animals of Paradise — the hart, the wyvern and a lesser lion — are positioned as if to be 'seen' by the man. It is no doubt significant that the only detail on the Bridlington slab which breaks across the frame is an ear of the lion: this overlap suggests the liveliness of the lion, its 'standing-up', *anastasis* or resurrection. There is, of course, nothing specifically Augustinian about the interpretation of the lion as Christ.

All four motifs on the tomb-slab therefore make direct reference to resurrection and the life after death. The origin of the design was almost certainly at Bridlington Priory because three of the four motifs have parallels in Augustinian sites, another three of the four have English parallels, and the image of the Holy Sepulchre could have been taken from a seal in the correspondence of the priory.

#### *Suggestion as to the person commemorated*

The slab was carved in Tournai, and its content would seem to have been decided in the priory. However, there is little indication in the four subjects as to who or what the person interred beneath the tomb-slab might have been, and there is no sign that there was ever an inscription. Of the priors in the twelfth century, Robert the Scribe is the only one of whom much is known. He was the fourth prior, in office between c. 1147 and 1154, and had probably died by 1159. The inscription on his tomb, in the cloister near the chapter house entrance, was recorded by John Leland as merely 'Robertus scriba, quartus prior'.<sup>32</sup> Leland visited Bridlington about 1534 in order to see the library of the still-functioning priory: it is understandable (if unfortunate) that he should have recorded this monument to the famous scribe but omitted other antiquities at the priory. If it was not for Robert, it seems very unlikely that any other prior in the earlier years would have had such a rich memorial.<sup>33</sup>

If not for a dignitary of the priory, such a slab is likely to have been for a patron, and Jill Franklin has suggested that the Bridlington tomb-slab might commemorate Gilbert de Gant, son of the founder.<sup>34</sup> However, would such an exceptional memorial have been felt appropriate for Gilbert? He had confirmed his father's gifts and made some of his own, but these do not seem out of the ordinary; he had been born and educated at the

<sup>30</sup> Examples of smiling people are at Adel, and at St Margaret-at-Cliffe, Kent. For smiling lions, see R. Wood, 'The Lions in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 120 (2000), pp. 387–90. For a slightly later currency of the open-mouthed smile as impolite, and used as an indicator of low or evil characters, see T. A. Heslop, 'Romanesque Painting and Social Distinction: Magi and Shepherds' in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 137–52.

<sup>31</sup> See Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art*, item 142, colour plate p. 62; p. 180.

<sup>32</sup> Thurlby, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, p. 33, quoting Prickett, *Priory Church*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>33</sup> D. Knowles, C. Brooke & V. London, *Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972) name Wicheman or Gikeman, Bernard, Roger, Robert the Scribe and Gregory as priors in the period from the foundation to about 1180.

<sup>34</sup> Franklin, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, p. 60, note 65.



priory and had an attachment to it, wishing to enter and end his days there if opportunity allowed, but this was a wish he may not have been able put into practice before he died as Earl of Lincoln in 1156.<sup>35</sup> More particularly, it was this same Gilbert de Gant who had destroyed buildings at the Cluniac Pontefract Priory in a feud in the 1140s, having to compensate its community c. 1151–52, and it was his ‘enemy’ William of Aumale who had ‘invaded and polluted’ Bridlington Priory in 1143–44, fortifying some part of it and turning out the canons.<sup>36</sup> Would the community have produced this design for Gilbert in 1156? In the 1130s and 40s, Augustinian priories locally were engaged in the provision of teaching schemes in sculpture at many churches in the Wolds, and were conscious of their pastoral responsibilities. For Gilbert, the canons of Bridlington would perhaps have ordered a standard grade of slab, one like those continental examples ‘of extremely simple design’, having inscriptions rather than iconography.<sup>37</sup>

Something more agreeable to the canons would have been the provision of a memorial to the founder, Walter de Gant, ‘an old man of wise counsel’, who had died in 1139. Franklin discusses this possibility, and concludes that Walter would have been buried at Bardney Abbey which he had entered shortly before his death. Bardney had been refounded by his own father, an earlier Gilbert who had come over with the Conqueror. However, even if Walter had died at Bardney and been buried there, reburial was a definite possibility for any notable person. Further, it is known that one John de Gant became abbot of Bardney, perhaps by 1145, but certainly by 1147: he died about 1155.<sup>38</sup> With the abbot of Bardney a member of the family, removal of the body to Bridlington for reburial in Walter’s own foundation could probably have been arranged without too much trouble. The delayed provision of a founder’s memorial combined with reburial is exemplified by one of the Lewes slabs. It is inscribed to Gundrada de Warenne, co-founder of Lewes Priory. She had died in 1085, but the slab was provided c. 1145, when a casket containing her bones was buried beneath it in the new chapter house.<sup>39</sup> The visitation record for Bridlington Priory made by Henry VIII’s commissioners, probably in 1537, is quoted by Franklin as saying that the body of the founder ‘lies in the midst of the choir’ but that unfortunately is inconclusive, and there is no description of the black slab.<sup>40</sup>

The question why Tournai marble should have been the stone selected is an interesting one. Any freestone suitable for a slab would have had to be brought from a distance: for example, Tadcaster was the source in the case of some thirteenth-century limestone fragments found at the site.<sup>41</sup> The ease of delivery by sea must have been a factor in the choice of Tournai stone: the priory would have been familiar with the advantages of carriage by water and, in the reign of Stephen, acquired control of the harbour. Elizabeth Schwarzbaum suggests Flemish merchants would have traded in Tournai stone along with their other goods; however, in this instance the recommendation of the stone may have come from the founder’s family. Zarnecki has already suggested that Henry of Blois came to know of the black marble of Tournai through his friendship with a Cluniac

<sup>35</sup> Gilbert said he was born and brought up at the priory: see charters in Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, pt. 1, p. 284; most of ‘Num. XI’ is translated in J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000–1300* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 218. Details of the de Gant family and their gifts to Bardney Abbey are given in A. Hamilton Thompson, ‘Notes on the History of the Abbey of St Peter, St Paul and St Oswald’, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports and Papers*, 32, pt. 1 (1914), pp. 37–46.

<sup>36</sup> Franklin, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, p. 48, p. 58 n. 36.

<sup>37</sup> Schwarzbaum, *Gesta*, p. 90.

<sup>38</sup> Knowles *et al.*, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 181–82.

<sup>40</sup> Franklin, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, figs. 3, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Franklin, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, p. 61, note 68.



monk of Flemish descent, Robert, later Bishop of Bath,<sup>42</sup> and a similar connection can be seen at work in the present case, for the first Gilbert de Gant was a son of Baldwin Count of Flanders.<sup>43</sup> No doubt the English branch of the family knew that their ancestors lay under Tournai tomb-slabs in an abbey in Ghent and, very likely, they encouraged the use of the black marble.<sup>44</sup> Other encouragement to the use of Tournai stone may have come through the links that Augustinians seem to have had with an unidentified scriptorium used also by the Lincoln clergy.<sup>45</sup> Through the talk in this scriptorium or by other means, the ordering of the font and the tomb-slab now seen in Lincoln cathedral may have become known to canons of the priory. It is Zarnecki's opinion that the brother-bishops Alexander and Nigel ordered their tomb-slabs some time in or after 1145; Alexander died in 1148.<sup>46</sup> The Augustinian abbey at Thornton (Lincs) may have been similarly influenced, as there is a Tournai marble font at its nearby church of Thornton Curtis.<sup>47</sup>

An apt opportunity to commission the Bridlington tomb-slab would have been provided by the re-ordering which must have followed the expulsion of William of Aumale in 1144. William made the priory reparation between 1147 and 1154.<sup>48</sup> It would have been fitting to use this income to provide an impressive memorial to the founder, and then to reassert the stability of the community by placing it as a focus in the choir. Numerous other dates mentioned above centre around this period. The circumstantial evidence set out in the present paper suggests that the Bridlington slab could commemorate the founder of the priory, Walter de Gant, and date from around 1150.

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<sup>42</sup> Zarnecki in *Art and Patronage*, p. 167.

<sup>43</sup> Prickett, *Priory Church*, pp. 64–65, quoting *Old English Peerage* (1711). His aunt Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, had a Tournai slab in La Trinité at Caen.

<sup>44</sup> Zarnecki in *Art and Patronage*, p. 171, n. 49.

<sup>45</sup> For example, a figure of Christ in Majesty at Melbourne, on the capital which contains the Fox and Crane fable, is in the style of drawings in the Lincoln Chapter Bible. Other links are discussed by Ron Baxter. *Bestiaries and their users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998) and C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (London, 1975).

<sup>46</sup> Zarnecki, *Lincoln*, p. 96.

<sup>47</sup> Thornton Abbey was an Augustinian foundation of William of Aumale c.1139. Is it a coincidence that it is interposed between Bridlington Priory and Bardney Abbey, the two de Gant foundations?

<sup>48</sup> Franklin, *BAA Conf. Trans. for 1983*, p. 48; p. 58, n. 37.



## ARCHBISHOP MELTON'S DONATIONS TO YORK MINSTER: STRENGTHENING THE SEE

By Charlotte A. Stanford

Although the study of medieval patrons can tell us much about the relationship between art and politics, previous scholarship has shed little light on the artistic patronage of William de Melton, Archbishop of York (1317–40). Melton has been lauded for centuries as a generous contributor to the cathedral fabric,<sup>1</sup> but this view of him has been overturned by Henry Kraus in the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of Melton, however, can offer more than admiration or condemnation of him as a person or even as a patron. His three donations to the Minster were far less important to him than other aspects of his political and economic programmes, and Melton's patronage, like that of many if not most donors, served the interests of his grander schemes. Scholars have explained Melton in terms of his politics or fiscal policies,<sup>3</sup> but have not attempted to explain how these concerns informed his donations to the Minster. Such analysis is important not merely for understanding the context of certain works at York Minster. It also helps shed light on the dynamic between art and politics in fourteenth-century England, by the way in which Melton used certain monuments to emphasise York's status as an independent regional centre and at the same time strengthen his ties to the court.

Melton is at once typical and unique among late medieval archbishops of York. As Kraus has shown, Melton's limited donations fit the pattern of giving at York more than the vast sums spent by the few patrons who built the choir, nave and transepts.<sup>4</sup> In addition he was concerned with gaining royal favour and asserting the importance of his see, especially over his rival of Canterbury. These were goals shared by other medieval Archbishops of York, and in this sense he is representative. His use of monuments to support these goals, however, is unique, and the works he patronised cannot be fully understood without an examination of this aspect of their context.

Hundreds of documents survive from Melton's reign. Almost all are administrative in

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Stubbs expresses this view of Melton in the 1380s, an interpretation that continues into the twentieth century. See 'Continuatio Chronicae de Vitis Archiepiscoporum Eboracensium per Thomam Stubbs, ut fertur, conscripta', in *The Historians of the Church of York*, ed. James Raine, II (Rolls Series, 1886), pp. 388–421. Also see W. H. Dixon and James Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses: Lives of the Archbishops of York* (London, 1863), pp. 422–23. Unless otherwise stated, biographical data are drawn from Dixon's and Raine's account.

<sup>2</sup> Although Stubbs and Dixon and Raine both acknowledged the great extent of Melton's personal expenditures, Kraus was the first scholar who actively challenged his reputation for generosity toward the Minster, noting that it is hard to call a man generous whose total donations would have only paid the wages for perhaps three masons during the entire course of his reign. See Henry Kraus, 'York: Pride, Greed and Charity', in his *Gold Was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building*, (New York, 1979), pp. 131–54.

<sup>3</sup> Kraus focuses on Melton's finances, as does L. H. Butler, 'Archbishop Melton, his Neighbours and his Kinsmen, 1317–40', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 2 (1951), pp. 54–68. An analysis of Melton's role as a civil servant is given in J. L. Grassi, 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History*, 5 (1970), pp. 12–33. A short study of Melton's care and consideration in his administrative duties as archbishop is found in Rosalind M. T. Hill, *The Labourer in the Vineyard: The Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, Borthwick Paper 35 (York, 1968).

<sup>4</sup> Respectively, Walter de Gray (1215–55), John le Romeyn (1286–96), and John Thoresby (1352–73).



nature: letters, admonitions, loans, grants, and so forth.<sup>5</sup> While they give us little insight as to how Melton regarded his role as patron, the day-to-day details of his household expenses and how he conducted his business are extremely valuable for us since they demonstrate his financial priorities. He did not appear to suffer the debt under which his predecessors laboured,<sup>6</sup> but on the contrary was in a position to lend money to people in all walks of life: merchants, monasteries, knights, nobles and even the king.<sup>7</sup> His moneylending was of vital importance not merely as a financial investment but as a tool to enable him to forge ties in Yorkshire and in England as a whole.

In large part, this included raising his family's status. Melton spent thousands of pounds to enrich his family, building up an estate of over ten manors that he then bequeathed to his nephew and heir.<sup>8</sup> He was also a generous patron to fellow Yorkshiremen, introducing friends and kin into the king's service as he in turn had been admitted, despite his lack of rank or higher education.<sup>9</sup> Melton was one of the most prominent of a circle of Yorkshire clerks who controlled the king's administration during the entire fourteenth century. He held several offices in the royal service, twice serving as treasurer. It is this royal connection that he had to thank for his nomination to countless (and multiple) benefices,<sup>10</sup> culminating in his nomination to the see of York.

Although he owed his archiepiscopal elevation to Edward II's goodwill, Melton's favoured position was not always secure. He angered the monarch by supporting Edward's cousin Thomas of Lancaster in 1322,<sup>11</sup> but was apparently back in favour by 1325, when the king appointed him treasurer (in the face of opposition from Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury).<sup>12</sup> Melton seems to have remained loyal to the King when Queen Isabella and Mortimer deposed Edward in 1327 in favour of his son. He did not attend the coronation of Edward III and was implicated in a conspiracy against him in 1330, although he was eventually acquitted of this plot.

Melton's enjoyment of preferment under Edward III cost him far more money than his ties to this monarch's father and grandfather. He had lent no money to Edward II and had given him only one small cash gift; to Edward III Melton lent thousands of pounds. Butler notes that only two thirds of the money he lent to the king ever seems to

<sup>5</sup> These documents are reproduced in *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317–40*, ed. R. M. T. Hill, I, Canterbury and York Society, 70 (York, 1977); ed. D. B. Robinson, II, CYS, 71 (York, 1978); ed. R. M. T. Hill, III, CYS, 76 (York, 1988); and ed. Reginald Brocklesby, IV, CYS, 85 (York, 1997). The publication of the register is not yet complete.

<sup>6</sup> Most thirteenth-century archbishops of York were deeply in debt to the papal court, while Melton's immediate predecessor and patron, William Greenfield (1306–15), had been threatened with excommunication if he did not pay his Florentine bankers 6000 marks. See Kraus, pp. 136–37.

<sup>7</sup> A thorough study of his loans has been made by Butler, *JEH*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Butler notes that by 1332 the profits from Melton's lending policies combined with his regular income allowed him to purchase a number of lands, mostly in the region of Aston (east of Sheffield). The sum total of his gifts to his kin are given as £2513 6s. 8d; compare this with his donations to the Minster, listed at less than £470; *ibid.*, pp. 65, 68. For specific instances of Melton's generosity to his nephew and kinsfolk, see Dixon and Raine, pp. 428–36.

<sup>9</sup> Melton's career as a royal clerk is given in Grassi, *NH*, 5, pp. 22–23.

<sup>10</sup> Raine calls him 'a pluralist of the first water'; for his holdings, see Dixon and Raine, pp. 398–400.

<sup>11</sup> Melton had encouraged his clergy to grant 2000 marks to Lancaster (*ibid.*, p. 407), although this was probably exacted under pressure; see J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 308, 314. Nevertheless on 9 April 1322 Edward II rebuked Melton for this act and asked him to express his contrition with a similar gift for himself. I have not been able to find any evidence that this was actually paid. After the king beheaded Lancaster, Melton forbade worship at his tomb or place of execution, but in 1327 (under Edward III) he wrote to the pope asking that the miracles of 'St Thomas' be investigated (Dixon and Raine, pp. 407–08), probably as a response to the overwhelming popular veneration at Lancaster's tomb (Maddicott, pp. 329–30).

<sup>12</sup> The exact reason for this opposition is unknown, but it was possibly due to the fact that Melton acted as Archbishop Greenfield's agent in the Canterbury–York feud, discussed below.



have been repaid, and much of it never yielded interest.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Melton gave Edward III a number of valuable, even extravagant, gifts.<sup>14</sup>

Still, Melton's investment paid off in favour. He had the honour of solemnising the marriage between Edward III and Philippa of Hainault at York Minster in 1328. He also baptised and may even have stood as godfather to Edward III's short-lived son William of Hatfield.<sup>15</sup> He served as Treasurer of England a second time in 1330–31,<sup>16</sup> was a frequent ambassador to the Scots and was usually present at the king's parliament. In the latter part of Melton's reign this was frequently held in his own city of York.

In the reigns of both Edward II and Edward III, the king and court spent considerable time in York during the Scottish wars. During the early fourteenth century there were five brief periods when the city became the administrative capital of England, most of them in Melton's time.<sup>17</sup> At these times the king himself resided in the city, at first in the archbishop's palace, later in the convent of the Grey Friars. The north never fully replaced London as a commercial centre, but naturally the transfer of governmental offices to York brought increased trade and prestige to the city.<sup>18</sup>

York was thus not merely a regional centre but a city of vital political importance in the early fourteenth century. Ecclesiastically it was the seat of the second most important cleric in England. The preservation of York's independence and dignities was a central issue for Melton, who often struggled to uphold and even extend his prerogatives as archbishop. The York canons complained that Melton had extorted unlawful oaths of obedience from them, in what was presumably an effort by the archbishop to strengthen his control over his cathedral church.<sup>19</sup> Melton also locked horns with the Bishop of Durham over the jurisdiction of Allertonshire, to the extent that he risked physical danger from the bishop's supporters when he crossed over their boundaries.<sup>20</sup> The most notorious instance, however, of Melton pursuing his rights was his active pursuit of an old quarrel with Canterbury.

Since the eleventh century, Archbishops of York had struggled to assert their independence from the authority of the southern see.<sup>21</sup> Nearly all new candidates for York's archiepiscopate spent much time and money bribing the papal court in order to receive their pall from the hands of the pontiff, rather than from their rival. The Canterbury feud is not only crucial for understanding the history of the Yorkshire see and the way

<sup>13</sup> The amount Melton gave to Edward II was only £94, but he gave Edward III £150 and lent him £3176. His loans to Queen Philippa (on a much smaller scale) also apparently went unrepaid (Butler, *JEH*, 2, pp. 62, 68).

<sup>14</sup> For example he gave him 50 marks to buy a palfrey (Dixon and Raine, p. 428).

<sup>15</sup> This is Grassi's interpretation of 'apud Haytefelde . . . regina peperit filium quem Willelmus de Meletone archiepiscopus Eboracensis de sacro fonte suscepit et suo nomine nuncupavit', from *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, II, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 76 (1883), p. 128 (cited in Grassi, *NH*, 5, p. 23, n. 41).

<sup>16</sup> Butler, *JEH*, 2, p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> 1298–1305, 1319–20, 1322–23, 1327, and 1333–38. See Michael Prestwich, *York Civic Ordinances, 1301*, Borthwick Paper, 49 (York, 1976), p. 1, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>19</sup> Sandra Brown, 'A Dispute between Archbishop Melton and the Dean and Chapter of York, c. 1336–8', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 54 (1981), pp. 110–19; see p. 111. Melton and his chapter also disagreed over visitation rights; see the account in *Victoria County History of England: Yorkshire*, III, ed. William Page (London, 1913, repr. 1974), p. 379.

<sup>20</sup> Dixon and Raine, p. 412. Hill also draws a picture of Melton as aggressive, albeit considerate, in his dealings with the visitation rights in the archdeaconry of Richmond (Hill, *Labourer in the Vineyard*, pp. 10–18).

<sup>21</sup> The history of the York and Canterbury feud is detailed in Roy Martin Haines, 'Canterbury versus York: Fluctuating Fortunes in a Perennial Conflict', in his *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 69–105.



it affected available moneys for the Minster;<sup>22</sup> in Melton's case, this rivalry directly influenced the monuments he patronised in the cathedral.

In 1312 Melton represented his patron Archbishop Greenfield over this very issue.<sup>23</sup> When Melton himself was nominated as the next Archbishop of York in 1315, he went to Avignon for his consecration. Despite the urging of the king, he was not actually consecrated until 1317. Melton's willingness to endure this lengthy and expensive delay of nearly two years underscores his determination not to submit to Canterbury.

Melton also insisted on York's ancient claim to carry the archiepiscopal cross erect in southern dioceses.<sup>24</sup> Both sides keenly felt the importance of this symbolic privilege, which was akin to a knight's right to bear a sword,<sup>25</sup> as petitions to the king make clear. Nor was the feud limited to written complaints. In 1318, when Melton carried his cross through the city of London, Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury excommunicated him and the entire city for good measure.<sup>26</sup> Although Melton hastily left the city after this act, he was bolder in 1323, publicly celebrating mass at Westminster the day after he had been yet again excommunicated for his temerity in bearing his cross upright in the province of Canterbury. The fact that the king frequently had to order sheriffs and mayors to see that neither archbishop was physically assaulted is a strong indication of the situation's gravity; Melton, in his turn, twice ordered his subordinates not to attack Reynolds.<sup>27</sup>

Melton did not find Reynolds's successors any more amenable in the matter of cross-carrying.<sup>28</sup> In 1334, during the decade in which the most royal admonitions on this subject are recorded, Melton authorised the expenditure of 'sufficient money for our cause against the archbishop of Canterbury'.<sup>29</sup> The unspecified amount shows how important the feud was to him; Melton was willing to pay any amount necessary to uphold his rights. He seems to have won a certain amount of support from the English clergy<sup>30</sup> as well as the king.<sup>31</sup> An end to the feud was not reached until 1353, after Melton's death, but Roy Martin Haines suggests that Melton and Stratford may have

<sup>22</sup> Kraus argues that the Canterbury feud is one of the primary reasons why the Archbishops of York donated so little money to the Minster fabric (Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 133).

<sup>23</sup> Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 95 and p. 292, n. 238.

<sup>24</sup> The disagreement over the York archbishop's right to carry his cross while in Canterbury's province apparently dates back to 1126 (Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 76).

<sup>25</sup> Haines, *Ecclesia*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>26</sup> The previous Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsey (1294–1313), had excommunicated William Greenfield of York for presuming to carry his cross at the London parliament of April–May 1309. Edward II supported Canterbury's actions, and Greenfield was ordered to leave the city; see Haines, *Ecclesia*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>27</sup> I have found no specific instances of violence arising from this quarrel recorded during Melton's reign (although there were some in the previous century), but Haines records Melton's prohibition of violence against the Archbishop of Canterbury or his subordinates (Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 97 and p. 293, n. 250, n. 253). Edward II's letters to the pope in August of 1317 also relate the disrupting effects of the ongoing conflict, including the presence of armed men in each archbishop's entourage (Haines, p. 97). Several letters also survive in which the king required sheriffs and mayors to protect the Archbishop of York, specifically, as he travelled to parliament (F. R. Fairbank, 'York versus Canterbury', *YAJ*, 13 (1895), pp. 94–97).

<sup>28</sup> Walter Reynolds was Archbishop of Canterbury 1314–27. He was succeeded by Simon Mepham, 1328–33, and John Stratford, 1333–48.

<sup>29</sup> Fairbank, *YAJ*, 13, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> When Mepham, for instance, tried to secure support for his protests against Melton carrying his cross to a Westminster parliament in 1330, only the Bishop of Rochester rallied to Canterbury's side (Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 99).

<sup>31</sup> Edward III, like his father, was evidently more concerned with restoring peace and order than favouring one rival above the other, but both Edward III and Edward II had participated in forming agreements that allowed each archbishop to carry his cross when coming to parliaments or other assemblies outside his province; both archbishops were rebuked at times for their intransigence (Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 100).



reached a temporary truce with a compromise agreement dated as early as 1335.<sup>32</sup> This document supported York's hotly-defended privileges, since the agreement not only allowed each archbishop to carry his cross openly anywhere in the realm, but also denied Canterbury's claim to primacy within the diocese of York. As a concession to dignity, Canterbury was given the option of having a taller cross, but the agreement as a whole was far more favourable to York than the final concordat approved by John Thoresby (Archbishop of York 1352–73), which clearly favours Canterbury.<sup>33</sup> Whether or not Melton was responsible for proposing a peace agreement that favoured York, it is certain that he tenaciously upheld the rights of his see until the end of his days.

The feud with Canterbury, although of centuries-long duration, was not just a vague policy deriving from past ill-will nor even a quarrel over precedence between two prelates conscious of their dignity. It was the bid of politicians and courtiers for the highest possible standing, not only in the realm at large but specifically in the eyes of the king. Melton and his contemporary primates of Canterbury were civil servants who owed their positions to the king's preferment, colleagues in the royal administration and rivals for the king's support.<sup>34</sup> Melton's relationship with Walter Reynolds had varied from friendly mutual discussion the day after the Canterbury archbishop had excommunicated him<sup>35</sup> to extracting penalties from Reynolds for his failure to repay a loan on time.<sup>36</sup> He continued his financial ties with Canterbury after Reynolds's death.<sup>37</sup> It is impossible to judge to what extent personal relations heightened or ameliorated the quarrel, but it was as a politician rather than an individual that Melton was unyielding in his insistence on his archiepiscopal rights.<sup>38</sup>

The presence of the court at York strengthened the standing of his see, giving it preferment (for the time) over other cities, Canterbury not least.<sup>39</sup> Yet York remained dependent upon the court for the full extent of this favour, just as Melton remained dependent on the king. This dynamic of independence and subordination helped shape the changing designs in the Minster architecture.

<sup>32</sup> Haines, *Ecclesia*, pp. 101–02. The document, however, was never confirmed by the York or Canterbury chapters, nor by the pope.

<sup>33</sup> This resolution was dated 20 April 1353. Herein the cross-bearing privileges of both are confirmed, but York's Archbishop (and each of his successors) was to give a golden image of an archbishop bearing a cross, to the value of £40, to the shrine of St Thomas (Haines, *Ecclesia*, p. 103).

<sup>34</sup> Melton's connections with the king are noted above. On Reynolds's relations with the crown, see J. Robert Wright, 'Archbishop Walter Reynolds and Edward II', in his *The Church and the English Crown, 1305–1334: a study based on the register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 243–74; also see n. 80, below. On the changeable and 'politically inept' Simon Mepham, see Roy Martin Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church c. 1275/80–1348* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 203–04. In contrast to Mepham, Stratford is described as a political giant, especially in the years 1326–27 and 1340–41; see Haines, *Stratford*, pp. 124–91.

<sup>35</sup> See above.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds had borrowed some 550 marks from him over a period of eight years. The Archbishop of Canterbury was one of only two of Melton's debtors who is known to have had to pay a penalty in cash on a late debt (Butler, *JEH*, 2, pp. 58–59, 62).

<sup>37</sup> Melton lent money and sold wool to Stratford, and has been considered by some scholars as one of Stratford's friends and supporters (a claim which Haines, however, finds exaggerated). See Haines, *Stratford*, pp. 86–87, n. 170 and p. 232, n. 99.

<sup>38</sup> Even in the midst of the feud, Melton apparently remained on speaking terms with Archbishop Reynolds, at least. The day after Reynolds excommunicated Melton for carrying his cross in London (see above) the two of them met in parliament and 'conversed openly', behaviour for which the Bishop of Rochester reproved his superior Canterbury (Fairbank, *IAJ*, 13, p. 96). Melton was also on friendly terms with his chapter as individuals even as he quarrelled with them as a body over his rights of visitation. See G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant, *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 81–85.

<sup>39</sup> London, however, remained the preferred locale for royal mercantile commissions, such as household furniture. Prestwich, *Civic Ordinances*, pp. 3–4.



The Minster nave style (Fig. 1) was something of an isolated phenomenon in England.<sup>40</sup> Its elevation was inspired by continental sources, most probably the cathedral of Cologne, a city with which York had close political ties in the 1290s.<sup>41</sup> The Minster's flat, brittle, two-storey design, however, was not imitated even in Yorkshire.<sup>42</sup> In this sense its voice of regional authority fell on deaf ears. It needed to adapt its stylistic language to a more familiar dialect.

The early 1300s saw the appearance at York of contemporary architectural fashions made popular by the court. When courtiers used the incomplete Minster nave for their chapel, the triforium was adorned with heraldic devices of the local nobility, a usage derived from a fashion begun in the nave of Westminster Abbey.<sup>43</sup>

By the 1330s, York's ties with Cologne had weakened, in both artistic and political exchange. The geometric design of the nave was abandoned in Melton's time with the introduction of flowing organic tracery in the great west window (Fig. 2),<sup>44</sup> and motifs such as nodding ogee arches and bubbly foliage on the west façade (Fig. 3) and the St William tomb. With the introduction of these hallmarks of the Decorated Style, York Minster began to engage in stylistic dialogue with its neighbours, using in part vocabulary that had been popularised by the court. This is not accidental, as the timing makes clear. Christopher Wilson dates the St William tomb to the 1330s,<sup>45</sup> while Melton's gift to the west façade is dated 1338, and the window contract 1339, just after the king and court had left York. The archbishop continued to invoke the court's presence and authority<sup>46</sup> by patronising an architect who could update the Minster in the fashions made popular by contemporary royal works. Melton's use of art was thus prompted in large part by his desire to retain close ties with the court, visually as well as politically.<sup>47</sup>

To some extent we can judge Melton's interest in the project at hand by the amount of his financial contributions. Although he twice granted indulgences to those who donated to the cathedral fabric fund, he spent his own money on the Minster only three times. In the 1330s he gave £20 for the tomb of St William, in 1338 he gave 500 marks for the fabric<sup>48</sup> and in 1339 he gave £100 for the glazing of the great west window.

<sup>40</sup>. Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (London, 1984), pp. 186–88.

<sup>41</sup>. Edward I, for instance, gave financial support to Cologne's Archbishop Siegfried von Westerburg when the latter elected Adolf of Nassau as German emperor in 1291. The new emperor then allied with England against Philip the Fair of France in 1294. Hans J. Böker, 'York Minster's Nave: The Cologne Connection', *Society of Architectural Historians*, 50 (June 1991), p. 177.

<sup>42</sup>. Nicola Coldstream, 'York Minster and the Decorated Style in Yorkshire', *IAJ*, 52 (1980), pp. 89–110.

<sup>43</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>44</sup>. Coldstream suggests that the design of the great west window may derive from the south transept rose window (the Bishop's Eye) at Lincoln. The distinctive leaf-stem pattern is also used at Beverley Minster, St Mary's Beverley, Patrington and (earlier) at Carlisle (Coldstream, *IAJ*, 52, p. 96).

<sup>45</sup>. Christopher Wilson, *The Shrines of St William of York* (York, 1977), p. 25, n. 37. He bases this on the state of Melton's finances as reviewed by Butler (cf. n. 3). On stylistic grounds Petch dates the tomb to the later part of Melton's episcopate, certainly after 1320. See M. R. Petch, 'The Raughton Family Influence on the Curvilinear Style', *IAJ*, 58 (1986), p. 46.

<sup>46</sup>. Böker interprets Melton's construction of the west façade and window as a reassertion of his own presence in the church, emphasised by the iconography of the window, discussed below. He does not mention York's feud with Canterbury (Böker, *Soc. Architect. Hist.*, 50, pp. 177–78).

<sup>47</sup>. I do not intend to argue that Melton followed a 'court style'; indeed, recent evidence suggests that his main architect, Ivo de Raughton, was a York citizen whose father had trained at Carlisle (Petch, *IAJ*, 58, pp. 37, 43). Rather Melton was patronising artists and architects who worked with a vocabulary that was prominently seen in contemporary court monuments, such as the tomb of Edward II at Gloucester.

<sup>48</sup>. The amount for the west façade varies according to source. Stubbs records that 'occidentalem partem navis ecclesiae beati Petri Ebor., DCC libris argenti appositis consummabat', but this sum is also given as 500 marks and was still unpaid in 1343 (according to *Acta Capit. Ebor.*, cited in Dixon and Raine, p. 423 and notes), while the nave vaults and west façade (excluding the towers) were not complete until c. 1360 (Aylmer and Cant, p. 158).



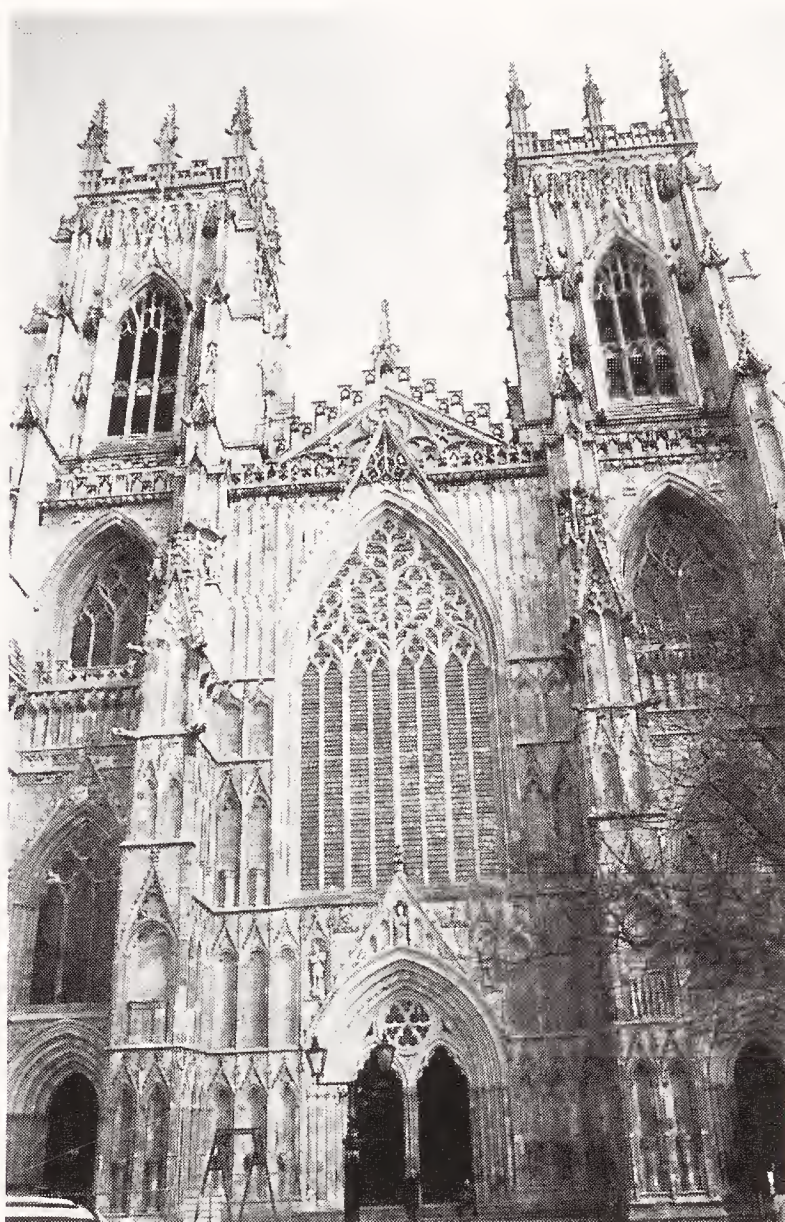


Fig. 1 (above left). York Minster nave elevation, north side. Photo: C. A. Stanford.

Fig. 2 (above right). West façade of York Minster. Photo: C. A. Stanford.



Fig. 3 (left). Detail of York Minster west façade: decorative niches between the great west window and north tower, third and fourth storeys. Note the change from flat gables to nodding ogee arches, *c.* 1330. Photo: C. A. Stanford.



The St William tomb spoke directly to the Canterbury feud. It was commissioned during the height of Melton's sparring with Archbishop Mepham over the issue of cross-bearing dignities. The monument was situated in the nave just west of the crossing.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately the tomb itself was broken up during the Reformation, certainly by 1553, and only fragments of the arched base remain.<sup>50</sup>

St William was a former Archbishop of York, the only canonised archbishop to be buried in the Minster.<sup>51</sup> After his death in 1154 his tomb was the site of several miracles, mostly the healing of cripples. In 1227 the pope officially proclaimed him a saint. The clergy's eagerness to secure a local saint of their own would have been spurred on by the translation of St Thomas Becket to the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury in 1220.<sup>52</sup> Also, while the veneration of a tomb was common for many revered figures, a saint's translation was usually reserved until his or her cult was officially sanctioned, and thus the new east end or 'Corona' at Canterbury, which housed Becket's translated bones, architecturally proclaimed the saint's canonised status.<sup>53</sup> The prestigious foreign and domestic visitors and the widely publicised festivities of Becket's translation gathered record amounts of revenue for the monks of Christ Church Cathedral.<sup>54</sup> Although other cathedrals and abbey churches had popular saints of whom the York clergy were obviously well aware, such as St Cuthbert at Durham and St John of Beverley, the success and prominence of the Becket cult would surely have invited comparison and emulation, even without York's rivalry with Canterbury.

Not to be outdone by Canterbury, Archbishop Walter Gray had begun a new south transept for York Minster in 1220, the same year as Becket's translation. This transept, in the manner of the Canterbury 'Corona', enclosed a shrine to St William, who had been canonised in 1227, in good time to be translated to this new setting in about 1230.<sup>55</sup> Thus St William's shrine was separate from his tomb, a solution that was not particularly common for English saints. It was, however, the arrangement adopted at Canterbury for Thomas Becket, whose empty tomb in the crypt was still visited by pilgrims even after the saint's translation to the Trinity Chapel above.<sup>56</sup>

Even when saints did have formal shrines separate from their burial site, the original tomb location was usually also given some sort of architectural marker. By the 1320s St

<sup>49</sup>. The exact spot of the tomb (along with many other nave tombs) was lost after the repaving of the nave in 1731–38, but the general area was noted in 1732 by Francis Drake and is cited in R. Willis, *The Architectural History of York Cathedral* (London, 1848), p. 52.

<sup>50</sup>. The fragments today are in storage at the Yorkshire Museum, along with the remnants of the 1471 base for St William's shrine. On the history of the cult and tomb of St William, see Wilson, *Shrines*.

<sup>51</sup>. York does, however, have other canonised archbishops, though buried elsewhere. They are: St Paulinus (627–633), buried at Rochester; St Chad (664–669) at Lichfield; St Wilfrid (669–709), at Ripon and Canterbury; St John (705–721), at Beverley; St Thomas (1070–1100) at Bayeux; and St Oswald (972–992) at Worcester (Wilson, *Shrines*, p. 23, n. 19 and Dixon and Raine, frontispiece).

<sup>52</sup>. Wilson, *Shrines*, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup>. Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 16–18, 77.

<sup>54</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup>. An altar dedicated to St William was founded by Elias Bernard in 1230 and sanctioned by Pope Gregory IX on 23 Jan. 1230/1. The location of his main shrine was probably at this altar, which, according to Samuel Gale's map of 1699, was located in the northern chapel of the south transept; Eric Gee, 'The Topography of Altars, Chantries & Shrines in York Minster', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984), p. 344. In the fifteenth century this was superseded by a second and larger shrine set behind the high altar, but the first translation to the south transept occurred c. 1284, as Archbishop Wickwane sent a letter from York to Beverley, asking the canons there to pray during the translation of St William. *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. James Raine, Rolls Series, 71, (London, 1879–94), cited in Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 24, n. 78.

<sup>56</sup>. St John of Beverley also had a separate tomb in addition to his shrine; Nicola Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 129 (1976), p. 22.



William had a formal shrine with an altar, and also a portable reliquary for his head,<sup>57</sup> but, unlike Becket, he did not enjoy a second architectural accommodation for his tomb site. Despite the lack of an elaborate monument, this spot was popular with local pilgrims, as healing oil was said to flow from his tomb. These miraculous events are narrated in the St William window of 1414 that graces York Minster's choir.<sup>58</sup> The site was also clustered with chantries<sup>59</sup> and burials, including Melton's own tomb, a surprisingly plain slab located in the second bay of the northern aisle.<sup>60</sup>

The creation of a lavish tomb for St William was a relatively economical gesture for a patron. It cost £30, a fraction of the sum that Melton's successor John Thoresby spent rebuilding the choir in 1361–73.<sup>61</sup> It was also insignificant set next to the amount Melton gave his eldest nephew.<sup>62</sup> In addition to being comparatively inexpensive, the tomb had the virtue of emphasising a second holy site in York Minster. This was comparable to Canterbury's possession of a crypt tomb for St Thomas as well as a fine east end to house the shrine containing his relics. Given Melton's personal ambition and pride, not to mention his escalation of York's feud with Canterbury, the tomb was more than a gesture that honoured the Minster's official saint. This monument also emphasised the importance of the see that produced such a deserving cult figure. Possibly it was also meant to provide local pilgrims with an alternative pilgrimage goal to that of Canterbury: Melton himself ordered one penitent to undertake a pilgrimage to St William as well as a number of other shrines, most of them burial sites of his venerated predecessors.<sup>63</sup> But despite the clergy's promotion of St William, the cult never reaped the financial rewards that Becket's did. William's tomb or shrine is seldom mentioned in pilgrimage donation records, bequests or wills, of either the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

The tomb that Melton funded was in the form of a canopy over a slab resting on a

<sup>57</sup>. The head reliquary and the valuables attached to the shrine are listed in an early sixteenth-century inventory of church treasures in *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. James Raine, Surtees Society, 35 (1859), pp. 212–35. No date, however, is given for the head reliquary, which no longer survives.

<sup>58</sup>. Row 11 of the window shows St William's burial and the start of miracles at his tomb; rows 15, 16 and 17 depict more miracles at that site. Ben Nilson, 'A Reinterpretation of the St William Window in York Minster', *EJ*, 68 (1996), p. 165.

<sup>59</sup>. Gee, *Antiq. J.*, 64, pp. 337–38. He provides a plan of the altars, shrines and chantries in York Minster. Many of the choir and transept monuments were relocated when the Romanesque choir was rebuilt after 1360, while the nave monuments were nearly all razed during the eighteenth-century repaving.

<sup>60</sup>. The tomb is especially plain when compared to Archbishop Greenfield's graceful canopied monument in the north transept. Melton's tomb was exhumed when the eighteenth-century pavement was installed. A description of his tomb is given by Francis Drake in *Eboracum, or The History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736, repr. 1978), p. 433: 'It [Melton's tomb] was of blue marble, very large but quarterly cloven, and had been plated with brass on the borders, and all over the middle part of it.' The coffin itself was lead, set within an outer shell of oak. He was not buried in robes, nor did he have a ring, only a staff, and a simple gilt silver chalice and paten. The chalice and paten were removed and taken to the vestry, and can be seen today in the Minster treasury beneath the nave. The tomb was closed up. Drake gives the original burial site as 'near the font, in the west end of the cathedral' (p. 433) and Willis's map indicates that this was in the north aisle, in the second to westernmost bay; see Willis, *Architectural History*, p. vii.

<sup>61</sup>. Thoresby donated a total of £2600 in gifts to the Minster, as well as other bills that he paid outright. Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 142.

<sup>62</sup>. Melton bestowed £2000 on his nephew William in 1330–31. He also paid for William's and William's brother Thomas's school fees and maintenance (Butler, *JEH*, 2, p. 66).

<sup>63</sup>. In 1328 Sir Peter de Mauley, a repeat offender in adultery, was enjoined as part of his penance to undertake pilgrimages to the shrines of St William, St Thomas (of Hereford), Our Lady at Southwell, St John of Beverley and St Wilfrid of Ripon (Dixon and Raine, p. 419). Of York bequests for pilgrimages undertaken in the name of the testator, St Thomas Becket is specified six times and St William once (Wilson, *Shrines*, p. 24, n. 25).



series of four arches.<sup>64</sup> Notable is the high quality of the carving, enriched with careful architectural and sculptural details that echo both contemporary work at York and the new fashions popularised by court works. The crouching figures that fill the spandrels echo earlier carvings on the west façade. The tomb was also decorated with ogee arches, which had not been previously used at the Minster and were unusual in Yorkshire at this time.<sup>65</sup> Ogee arches were, however, a fashionable motif often seen in works commissioned by the court.<sup>66</sup> The tomb has been identified by John Harvey as the work of one Ivo de Raughton, a man who also seems to have been responsible for the portion of the west façade funded by Archbishop Melton's second donation to the Minster.<sup>67</sup>

Unfortunately, the wording of Melton's second and largest donation says nothing more than that it is for 'the use of the fabric of the church' on the western part.<sup>68</sup> The money evidently paid for the insertion of the tracery of the great west window and part of the west façade masonry. The upper storeys of masonry reveal Raughton's hand, with the adoption of nodding ogee arches instead of flat gabled niches (Fig. 3). Although he worked on the Minster west façade, Raughton did not replace the cathedral's master mason, but was apparently hired especially to complete Melton's commissions.<sup>69</sup>

Raughton may also have been responsible for the central gable (Fig. 4). The archbishop currently seated in the top niche was carved in 1819 in the workshop of William Shout, who identifies the figure specifically as Melton.<sup>70</sup> It is unlikely that the original figure was Melton, since the gable is flanked by censing angels, most inappropriate ancillaries for an archbishop. Two worn figures are shown kneeling in adoration on either side, and therefore the original figure was almost certainly a saint, most likely St Peter, to whom the high altar of the Minster is dedicated.<sup>71</sup> The figures in niches to the sides of the gable are members of the houses of Percy and Vavasour, who donated wood and stone to the Minster. If Melton depicted himself on the façade, as is not unlikely, he was probably meant to be one of the figures that kneel to either side of the central niche. This would place him in proximity to such prominent families as Percy and Vavasour, highly appropriate company for a man who vigorously sought to build up his own and his family's social standing.

In contrast to his general gift to the fabric, Melton took a specific interest in the glazing of the great window. This is documented by his donation of one hundred pounds for this purpose.<sup>72</sup> It is the most noteworthy of his three gifts because the nave was unvaulted

<sup>64</sup> The tomb was removed by 1553; fragments of it are stored by the Yorkshire Museum. Unfortunately they are not on display and no photographs are available at this time, according to deputy director Tania Holmes (telephone conversation, 15 Nov. 2001.) Some images of the tomb fragments can be seen in Wilson, *Shrines*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>65</sup> Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style* (Ithaca, New York, 1979), p. 28.

<sup>66</sup> The ogee motif seems, for instance, to have been introduced to England with the Eleanor crosses of the 1290s; *ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>67</sup> John Harvey argues this on stylistic grounds; see John Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (1972), pp. 79–80, 282 (refs), as cited in Aylmer and Cant, p. 157, n. 20. For further details on Raughton's career, see Petch, *IAJ*, 58, pp. 45–54.

<sup>68</sup> Dixon and Raine, p. 438.

<sup>69</sup> Aylmer and Cant, p. 157, n. 20.

<sup>70</sup> William Shout's daybook entry, 9 July 1819 (York Minster Archives ref. Code E10). I would like to thank Mr Peter Young, Archives Assistant, for allowing me access to this manuscript.

<sup>71</sup> The earliest image of this gable, seen in Joseph Halfpenny's engraving of 1795, shows the central figure only from the knees down. This engraving is reproduced as a frontispiece in John Toy *et al.*, *The Great West Door* (York, York Minster Fund, 1998). William Shout's 1817 Melton figure was restored again in 1991–98 by Rory Young; on the restoration project see Christopher Norton, iconographical report on the west doors of York Minster, 20 July 1993 (manuscript in York Minster Library). I am indebted to Dr Norton for discussing the iconography of the central figure and suggesting a possible identification to me (conversation with Christopher Norton, March 2001).

<sup>72</sup> Dixon and Raine, p. 434.





Fig. 4. York Minster, great west door, central gable detail showing 1819 carving of Archbishop Melton flanked by kneeling figures (one in ecclesiastical garb) and empty niches. Photo: C. A. Stanford.

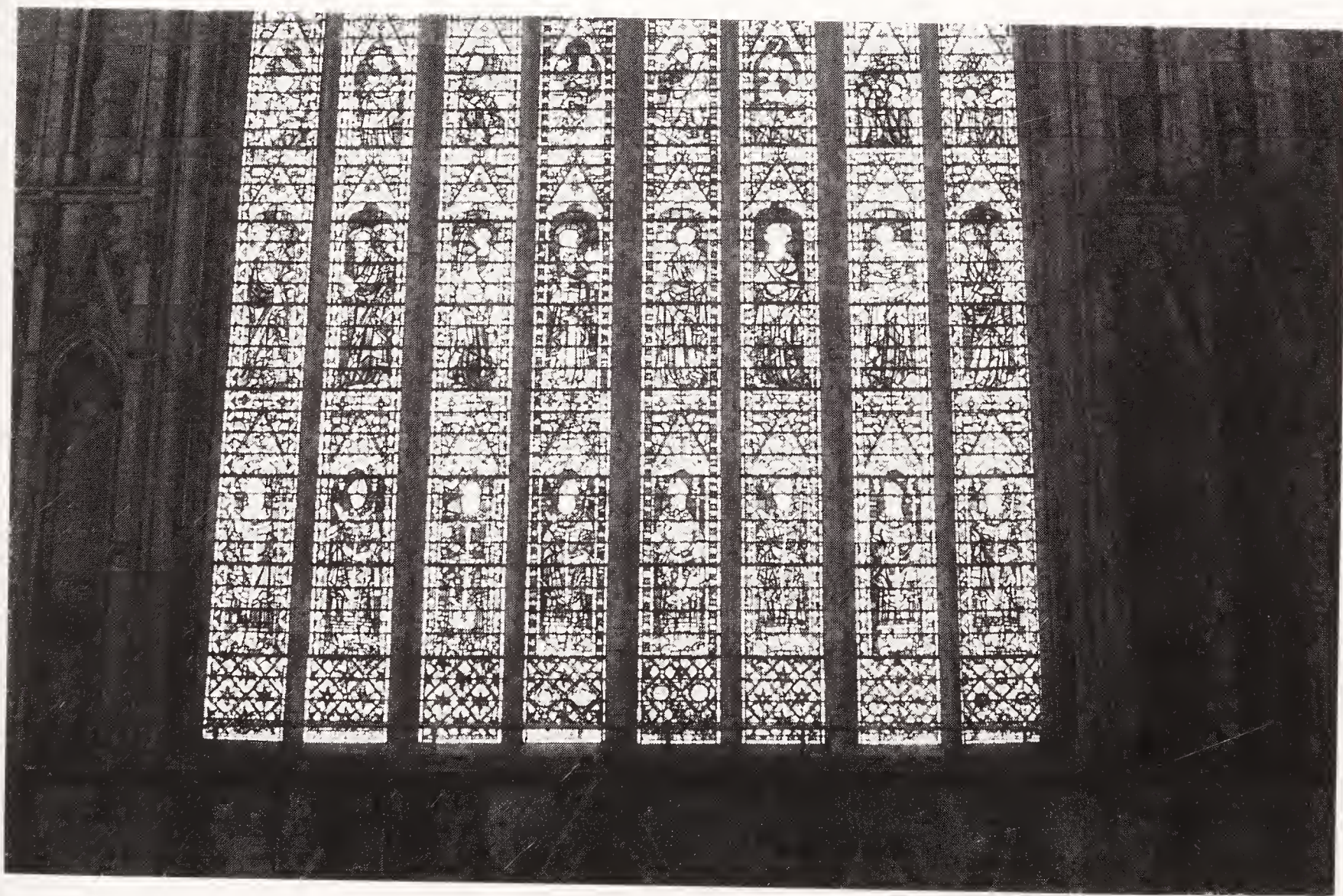


Fig. 5. York Minster, great west window, glazed 1338/9. Detail of eight archbishops (lower figural panels) beneath apostles. Photo: C. A. Stanford.



and its roof unleaded; one does not usually execute expensive windows until the roof is reasonably sound.<sup>73</sup> With this donation the archbishop continued to patronise styles popularised by the court. Indeed the master glazier Melton employed for the great west window had almost certainly worked on glazing schemes in the York area that flourished under royal patronage.<sup>74</sup>

In addition, decorative details of this window, such as canopies, backgrounds and borders, anticipate work executed at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, from 1349 to 1352.<sup>75</sup> The fluid exchange of artists and ideas between royal works and York Minster at this time is not surprising, given Melton's close ties to the court. Rather it indicates York's recent status as a regional centre of artistic as well as political standing.

As the patron, Melton was probably directly involved in designing the iconography of the window. Below a sequence of the Joys of the Virgin,<sup>76</sup> stand eight life-size archbishop figures directly beneath the twelve apostles (Fig. 5). These eight archbishops are selected from among Melton's predecessors. Unfortunately two of them are unidentifiable, as they have no distinct attribute, unlike the apostles above them. In addition, these figures are repetitions of identical types, placed in an ABAB, CDCD pattern. There is no distinction between them. They are meant to be read as a whole.

The names painted on their bases have now disappeared, but the antiquarian James Torre was able to preserve six identities for us. There is no evidence that Melton was one of the figures. The scheme includes the formally canonised saints of York Minster.<sup>77</sup> In addition to these is Sewall de Bovill, who was not an official saint but had been Dean of York before his tenure as archbishop (1256–58), and had a cult following at the Minster after his death. He had also been a strong defender of the rights of the see of York.<sup>78</sup>

The idea of commemorating illustrious predecessors is not innovative. It was used, for example, at Rouen, with which York had close ties.<sup>79</sup> But the emphasis on the holiness of locally venerated men cannot be read as mere borrowing from an earlier scheme. Rather it fits the pattern of Melton's concern for the dignity of his see. What better way to stress the glory of his archiepiscopate than by honouring the sainted Archbishops of York?

His adoption of this theme also creates an implicit comparison with Canterbury. Whereas Melton's contemporary Walter Reynolds was accused by contemporary chron-

<sup>73</sup> The lack of lead on the roof had led, by 1345, to pools of rainwater in the nave that were so deep that a lad nearly drowned; L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 54–55.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas W. French and David O'Connor, *York Minster: A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass; Fascicule 1, The West Windows of the Nave*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, 3, Great Britain (Oxford, 1987), p. 18.

<sup>75</sup> French and O'Connor, p. 22.

<sup>76</sup> The Christological scenes of the west end, especially those of the two flanking windows, have been interpreted as emphasising the festival of Corpus Christi, which Melton introduced in 1325 (*ibid.*, p. 18; see also John Brown, *Fabric Rolls and Documents of York Minster, or a Defence of 'The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York'*, (York, 1863)).

<sup>77</sup> James Torre, 'Antiquities of York Minster' (1690–91), manuscript in York Minster Library, fols 22–23. According to Torre, the archbishops from left to right are: St John of Beverley, St Thomas, St Wilfrid, two unknowns, St Oswald, St William and 'St' Sewall. The entire manuscript page is printed in French and O'Connor, pp. 86–88. A second identification of these window figures, dating from 1730, lists the archbishops as Paulinus, Bosa, John of Beverley, Wilfrid I, Egbertus, Oswaldus, Guilelmus and Sewallus. See Thomas Gent, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Famous City of York* (York, 1730), p. 144 (quoted by French and O'Connor, p. 15). St Thomas of York (Thomas of Bayeux) should not be confused with Becket; see Wilson, *Shrines*, p. 23, n. 19.

<sup>78</sup> French and O'Connor, p. 15.

<sup>79</sup> See Françoise Perrot, *Le Vitrail à Rouen* (Rouen, 1972), pp. 18–21 and pl. 4, as cited by French and O'Connor, p. 15.



iclers of gaining his office by bribery,<sup>80</sup> and Reynolds's successor Simon de Mepham died excommunicated by the pope,<sup>81</sup> the see of York had no fewer than eight sainted archbishops. The interchangeability of the window figures highlights this aspect of their sanctity: one is as good as another, and all eight together are more impressive than Canterbury's three saints,<sup>82</sup> however popular one of them might be. Melton's promotion of the St William cult also emphasises this interest in the sanctity of his see, and implies a rivalry with the cult of Becket, a rivalry that was ultimately unsuccessful.

In conclusion, as we consider what Melton was trying to achieve with his patronage of art, we must also consider the court's role as an artistic centre in the fourteenth century. Nicola Coldstream has recently reconsidered the concept of the court style in England, arguing that art in the Decorated period can best be understood not as a response to a court centre at Westminster or even to works with royal associations, but as a religious phenomenon that developed according to the taste of regional centres.<sup>83</sup> Melton's connections to the court both reaffirm and challenge this view. At the same time as this archbishop was struggling to assert his see's independence from Canterbury, he turned his back on the Minster's unique but unpopular nave design. Instead he patronised art that asserted York's religious independence, while at the same time it strengthened York's political and artistic ties to the court.

<sup>80</sup>. The accusation of bribery, said to have been arranged between Edward II and Clement V, has never been positively confirmed, but it evidently tainted Reynolds's reputation not only during his life, but also in most subsequent biographies of him. See Wright in *Church and English Crown*, pp. 243–49.

<sup>81</sup>. *DNB*, 'Simon de Meopham or Mepeham'.

<sup>82</sup>. Although Thomas Becket (1162–70) was the central saint at Canterbury, St Augustine (596–604) also graced the see, as well as St Edmund of Abingdon (1234–40). See Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, 1 (Graz, 1957), pp. 182–83.

<sup>83</sup>. Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style* (Toronto, 1994), pp. 190–92.







ISABEL PLUMPTON: A LIFE IN LAW

By Emma Hawkes

This article offers a brief biography of Isabel Plumpton, a sixteenth-century Yorkshire gentlewoman. The focus is on exploring her legal undertakings and her knowledge of the law from the time of her marriage in 1496 to her death in 1552. Her legal activities are first charted, and then the extent to which she understood the law and directed the legal procedures is assessed.

Almost all Isabel’s litigation stemmed from a dispute about her inheritance. When the contract for her marriage to William Plumpton was drawn up in 1496, her uncle William Babthorpe agreed that she would take the manors of Sacombe in Hertfordshire and Waterton in Lincolnshire as well as lands in Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. William Babthorpe and his heir would have other family estates in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in satisfaction for all lands ‘in tailed to any of the name Babpthorpe, his anchestors, or to the heir male of any of their bodies’.<sup>1</sup> However, by 1499 Isabel’s father-in-law Robert Plumpton was already suing her uncle William Babthorpe for the remainder of the Babthorpe estate, the manors of Babthorpe and Osgodby in the East Riding.<sup>2</sup> This dispute, between the claims of Isabel Plumpton as the heir general and those of William Babthorpe and his son as the heirs male, was argued in common law and equity courts for the next sixty years.

Isabel Babthorpe was probably under age when she married William Plumpton, and she was a desirable heiress. In addition to her inheritance from her father Robert Babthorpe, she had inherited from her cousin Isabel who had died in 1496 and who had

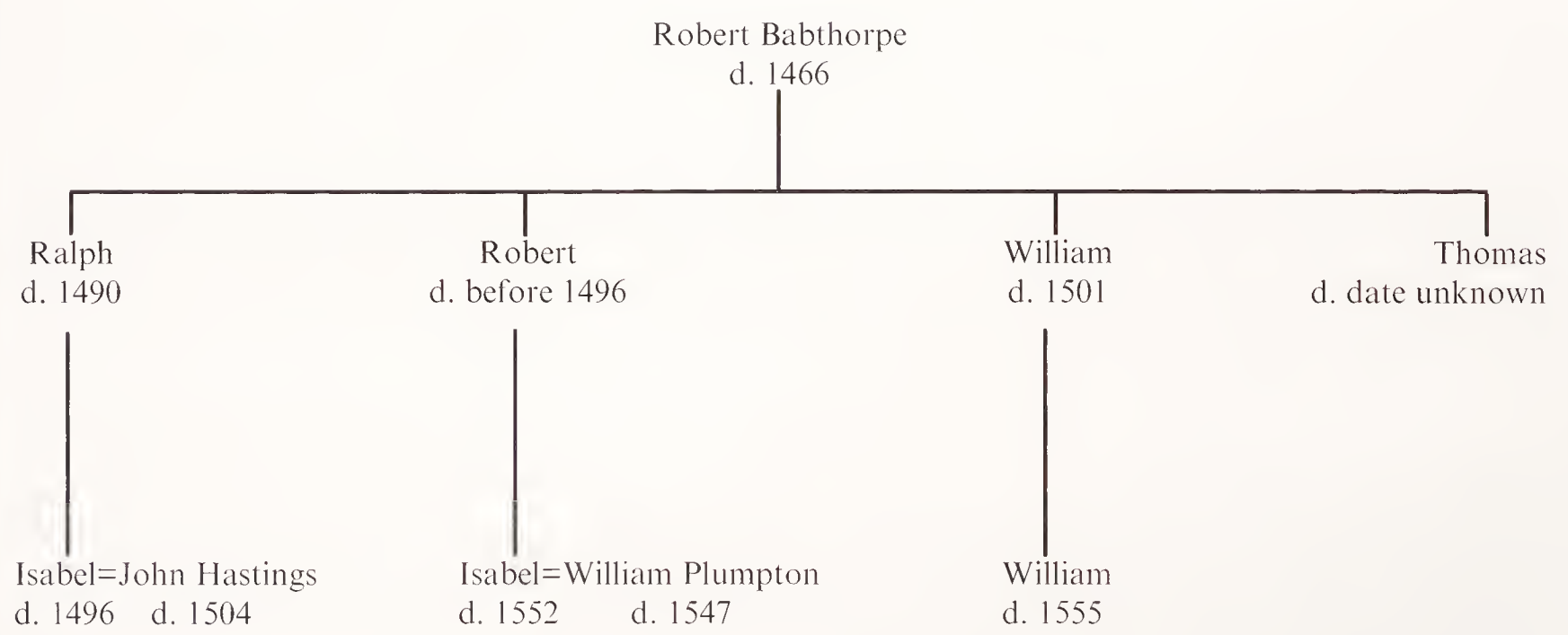


Fig. 1. Babthorpe family.

<sup>1</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service (hereafter WYAS), Leeds, Plumpton Coucher Book, Chambers MS 3, item 781, p. 214. Printed in *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. Joan Kirby, Camden Fifth Series (London, 1996), pp. 236–39.  
<sup>2</sup> *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 126, pp. 123–24, letter 129, pp. 126–27, letter 142, pp. 134–36.



been married to Sir John Hastings. Further, she had only one male cousin, William Babthorpe, who in 1496 was only two years old. While the core of the Babthorpe estate was reserved for male heirs, in 1496 it must have appeared that the male line was failing and that Isabel, as the heir general, would be able to stake a claim on the manors of Babthorpe and Osgodby.

Certainly her father-in-law Robert and her husband William seized the opportunity to claim the entire estate on the grounds that it should descend to the heir general rather than the heir male. By 1499 the Plumpton had lodged a claim to the lands in the London courts and were gathering jurors favourable to their cause for a hearing at the assizes at York. William Elleson advised Robert Plumpton 'to enquire if any of them, or if their wyfes be sybb or allied to William Babthorp, and if any cause in them bee wherby they may be challenged'.<sup>3</sup> John Pullein suggested that a chaplain called Richard Plumpton and a Plumpton woman, possibly Isabel herself, should try to stack the jury. 'Therefore, Sir, between you & my lady ye must cause special labor be made, so it be downe preuely to such of iurrers as ye trust wilbe made frindly in the cause.'<sup>4</sup> The Plumptons were actively trying to take the lands from Isabel's uncle William and her cousin William.

However, the manors were still the property of William Babthorpe when he died in 1501. His lands descended to his son William, but his wife Christian had a life interest in Osgodby. Sir John Hastings, who had been married to the elder Isabel Babthorpe, was said to hold Babthorpe by lease.<sup>5</sup> After Hastings died in 1504, William's brother Thomas took forcible possession of the manor in the name of the eleven-year-old heir male William Babthorpe.<sup>6</sup> Then, however, in 1505 William and Isabel Plumpton obtained livery from the king for the manors of Sacombe and Babthorpe by virtue of Isabel's inheritance from her cousin, Isabel Hastings.<sup>7</sup> William and Isabel received seisin of the manors in 1506 and then entered and held Babthorpe until they were forcibly ousted by Thomas Babthorpe in 1507.<sup>8</sup> Isabel had not been present in 1506 when her husband William Plumpton forcibly entered the manor 'armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords and bucklers',<sup>9</sup> but she was present in 1507 when Thomas Babthorpe used equal force to take back the property.<sup>10</sup>

The claims and counter-claims made in the courts named Isabel just as often as they listed her male relatives and in-laws. In 1506 Isabel, her husband William and her father-in-law Robert were accused of entering into messuages and lands of the Babthorpes.<sup>11</sup> In that year also, the Babthorpes named Robert in a King's Bench action,<sup>12</sup> and in the same term William was accused of breaking into Babthorpe manor 'with force' (*manuforti intraverunt*).<sup>13</sup> In 1508 Isabel and William jointly brought a Common Pleas action which reiterated their claim to some of the Yorkshire lands.<sup>14</sup> They sued Thomas Rokeby for entering their close in Howden and depasturing it, a claim probably made to assert publicly their claim to this part of the Babthorpe inheritance.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, letter 129, pp. 126–27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, letter 126, pp. 123–24.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, II, 1494–1509*, pp. 595–96.

<sup>6</sup> *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, item 63, p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII, II, 1494–1509*, pp. 481–82; *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 284.

<sup>8</sup> British Library (hereafter BL), Additional MS 32113, fols 214–15.

<sup>9</sup> *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, item 69, pp. 285–86.

<sup>10</sup> *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*, ed. C. G. Bayne and William Huse Dunham, Selden Society, 75 (London, 1958), p. cxxxv.

<sup>11</sup> Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), King's Bench proceedings, KB27/980, fols 71, 71a.

<sup>12</sup> PRO, KB27/982, fol. 37.

<sup>13</sup> PRO, KB27/982, fol. 52.

<sup>14</sup> PRO, Common Pleas proceedings, CP40/986, fol. 56.



While these actions were proceeding in common law, the case was also pursued in the equity courts. Thomas Babthorpe seized the lands in 1507, so William Plumpton complained to Star Chamber.<sup>15</sup> In 1508 he claimed that the land entered was parcel of Isabel's inheritance. William and Isabel had sued livery of Babthorpe and of the other lands held of the king in chief, and a writ of livery directed to the escheator had authorised him to put William and Isabel in possession of the premises.<sup>16</sup>

The court ordered an enquiry by four Yorkshire justices of the peace and instructed them to report to Edmund Dudley. A grand jury met, but only three of the thirty rioters named in the indictment were presented, and the inheritance dispute rumbled on.

Members of the Babthorpe and Plumpton families attempted arbitration in 1511, 1519 and 1524 and engaged in further litigation.<sup>17</sup> In 1515 William Babthorpe brought a Common Pleas action against William and Isabel Plumpton for lands in Lincolnshire.<sup>18</sup> Before June 1519 William Babthorpe threatened to distrain cattle, and Isabel was warned 'if any person com from the sherif to take your cattell, obey ye it not'.<sup>19</sup>

It is uncertain who held the contested manors of Babthorpe and Osgodby in the 1530s and 1540s. Isabel's own will of 1552 referred to the manors in proprietorial terms, writing of 'my farme called Babthorpe hall'.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, John Leland passed through Yorkshire in the 1540s and noted down the local gossip about the dispute: 'This Plomton hathe by the heire generall a good parte of the Babthorps lands: but Babthorpe the lawyer kepithe Babthorpe selfe, that is, as I remembar, in Holdernesse'.<sup>21</sup>

Neither Babthorpe nor Osgodby was listed among the possessions of William Plumpton when he died in 1547.<sup>22</sup> The inquisition post mortem held after Isabel's death in 1552 only listed lands in Selby, Kirkby Wharfe, Wistow and Hundsley,<sup>23</sup> but a later inquest of 1564 detailed Babthorpe manor as her property.<sup>24</sup> After their deaths their grandson William Plumpton continued to claim these manors, ultimately relinquishing Babthorpe and Osgodby to William Babthorpe in 1565.<sup>25</sup> This final accord settled the lands as in the 1496 marriage agreement, with the Babthorpes keeping the entailed lands and the Plumptons retaining the portion which had come with Isabel at the time of her marriage.

\* \* \*

Isabel Plumpton was named alongside her husband in the acrimonious litigation for these lands in the first decades of the century, but being named in these records did not necessarily imply direct involvement in the court cases. Because Isabel is unusually well

<sup>15</sup>. *Select Cases*, p. cxxxv.

<sup>16</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, item 70, p. 286.

<sup>17</sup>. BL, Add. MS 32113, fols 238, 243, 244.

<sup>18</sup>. PRO, CP40/1009, fol. 116<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 217, p. 197.

<sup>20</sup>. *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, ed. James Raine, vi, Surtees Society, 106 (1902), pp. 260–62.

<sup>21</sup>. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1910, repr. 1964), v, p. 145. Sir William Babthorpe was of the Inner Temple.

<sup>22</sup>. PRO, Inquisitions Post Mortem, WARD7/3/38, WARD9/135/6.

<sup>23</sup>. PRO, Inquisitions Post Mortem, E150/246A/6.

<sup>24</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, item 86, pp. 297–98.

<sup>25</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, item 87, p. 298. It should be noted that this 1564 inquisition was probably produced in the negotiations which led to the final agreement between the Plumptons and the Babthorpes (Item 88, pp. 298–99).



documented, the extent of her knowledge of the law and her participation in these legal undertakings can be assessed with some degree of confidence.

There is certainly some evidence that Isabel was only nominally involved in some legal proceedings. She was named alongside her husband in some deeds but not in others, suggesting that her involvement in the making of such documents was intermittent. So, in 1506 she and William jointly sold some Yorkshire lands to William Girlington,<sup>26</sup> but in 1511, 1519 and 1524 the bonds made to enforce the rounds of arbitration named only William Plumpton and not Isabel.<sup>27</sup> It is possible that Isabel was only sometimes active in such legal activities, or it might be that William sometimes used his wife's name to strengthen his claim to the lands which were her inheritance, and that Isabel was only marginally involved in the litigation.

On the other hand, the plentiful evidence of Isabel's legal undertakings after her husband's death in 1547 suggests that she had a thorough understanding of her disputed inheritance and of the legal moves taken to protect these interests. Isabel was involved in at least two legal undertakings in the four years between William's death and her own in 1552. In 1548 William Woodrif informed her of the progress of her business in the Exchequer (possibly financial or possibly in the Court of Exchequer) and the Court of Wards (almost certainly connected with the purchase of the guardianship of her grandson William Plumpton).

[T]his is to advertis you of the dispatch of such matters as you did commit vnto me at my last being with you . . . [Y]our charges in the cheker is dispacht, and your cossin . . . hath brought your acquittance. And order is taken for you at the court of the wards, and all is well stayd but yet not paid.<sup>28</sup>

It is unlikely that Isabel was engaged in litigation in these courts, but she was personally involved in guarding her interests and directing these legal manoeuvres.

Further she directed the giving of justice in her manorial court at Sacombe. Her representative there, her nephew Robert Girlington, wrote to her in 1550 reporting the business at a recent court. He then asked for her direction in arranging the manorial courts.

And I desire you, good Aunt, to let me know how you will haue your corts ordered, whether you will haue them kept one or tow times in the yeare . . . and I, acording to your commaundement gevin I shold doe.<sup>29</sup>

Isabel organised the administration of these local courts.

Her activities were unusual as it was, of course, uncommon for women to enter the law courts in the sixteenth century. In 1500, only four of the sixty-one litigants from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire who went to King's Bench were women (6.5 per cent).<sup>30</sup> There were only forty women among the 993 disputants from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire who took actions to Common Pleas in the Trinity Term of 1500 (4 per cent).<sup>31</sup> Likewise, there were only fifty-four women among the 1002 Yorkshire and Lincolnshire litigants in Common Pleas in the Trinity Term of 1520 (5 per cent).<sup>32</sup> How can Isabel Plumpton's unusual presence in the courts be explained? Why did she engage in legal undertakings when so few other women did?

<sup>26</sup>. WYAS, Leeds, Chambers MS 3, item 830, p. 231. Calendared in *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 285.

<sup>27</sup>. BL, Add. MS 32113, fols 238, 243, 244.

<sup>28</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 248, pp. 224–25.

<sup>29</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 250, p. 226.

<sup>30</sup>. PRO, KB27/956.

<sup>31</sup>. PRO, CP40/953.

<sup>32</sup>. PRO, CP40/1025.



TABLE 1: Litigants in the Court of Common Pleas, Trinity Terms of 1500 and 1520

	Women	Men	Total Litigants
1500	40	953	993
1520	54	948	1002

A partial explanation for her legal undertakings in the last part of her life may stem from the fact that her husband named her as his co-executrix in 1547.<sup>33</sup> Isabel was effectively made his legal representative after his death, and she almost immediately began legal undertakings which proceeded in part from this status.<sup>34</sup> Within months of William’s death Isabel had bought the guardianship of her grandson and heir.<sup>35</sup> Since her eldest son Robert had died in her husband’s life time, her grandson William had become the king’s ward and his wardship had been sold to Thomas Bill, the king’s doctor.<sup>36</sup> One of Isabel’s first steps after she was widowed was to have him ‘bargain sell give and grant’ the ‘custody and marriage of the foresaid Will[ia]m Plumpton . . . and also all this whole right interest and title . . . to the same’ back to her.<sup>37</sup>

It was fairly common for gentlemen to name their wives as sole or joint executrices.<sup>38</sup> In a study of 317 wills of secular men proved in York or Knaresborough between the reigns of Henry VIII and Philip and Mary, a total of 181 of the wills named wives as sole or joint executrices.<sup>39</sup> That is to say, nearly 60 per cent of the wills named the widows as executrices of some sort. Isabel Plumpton was one of many sixteenth-century gentlewomen given the authority to act as her husband’s legal representative after his death.

It is also possible that Isabel was unusually involved in litigation because the lands in dispute were her inheritance. Perhaps she and her husband perceived that she had a particular claim to the dispute and that involving her in the litigation would increase the probability of success. Certainly Isabel seems to have viewed the Babthorpe lands as her particular property. Her will shows a familiarity with the leases over her lands and she made provisions for what she described as ‘my farme called Babthorpe hall’.<sup>40</sup> She was intimately involved in the running of the estate. In 1551 or 1552 Ralph Aldburgh informed her of the fattening of the swine, the allocation of grain, and the use of the horses.<sup>41</sup>

Even before her husband’s death there are indications that Isabel viewed these manors as her own (despite the common law doctrine that a woman’s landed inheritance became her husband’s for the term of his life).<sup>42</sup> In 1539 or 1540 John Doddington wrote to her (rather than her husband) about her ‘pleasure’ that he should let ‘parcels of ground of

33. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vi, pp. 258–60.  
34. William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 5th edn (London, 1942), iii, pp. 572–95.  
35. WYAS, Leeds, Chambers MS 4, fol. 25. Calendared in *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 296.  
36. BL, Add. MS 32113, fols 251<sup>v</sup>, 252<sup>v</sup>.  
37. WYAS, Leeds, Chambers MS 4, fol. 25. Calendared in *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 296.  
38. Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993), p. 158; Philippa Maddern, ‘Friends of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth-Century Norfolk’, in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (London, 1995), p. 166.  
39. I have undertaken a study based on counting the wills of secular men recorded in the publications of the Surtees Society. I have counted the wills in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, v, SS 79 (1884), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vi, SS 106 (1902) and *Wills and Administrations from the Knaresborough Court Rolls*, ed. F. Collins, i, SS 104 (1902). I have only counted the wills registered between the reigns of Henry VIII and Philip and Mary.  
40. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vi, pp. 260–62.  
41. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 251, pp. 226–27.  
42. J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 2nd edn (London, 1979, repr. 1981), pp. 395–98.



your maner of Sacomburs'.<sup>43</sup> In or before 1519 William Elleson reassured her that she should not be afraid that various legal manoeuvres 'shold hurt your title in . . . Babthorp'. 'Sister, be ye nothing afeared herof, for ye shall haue as good remede now as ye might haue had before.'<sup>44</sup> Isabel was, here, perceived as the one with a claim to the lands; she was the one who had inherited them and who had title. In these circumstances it is unsurprising that Isabel was almost certainly involved in legal activities for these lands when she was a wife and possibly when she was a widow.

Isabel's interest in preserving her title to her inheritance and, at the end of her life, her position as her husband's executrix enabled her to engage with the law through her life. Her legal activities seem unusual as few sixteenth-century Yorkshire gentlewomen entered into common law actions or equity pleas, but the extent of her legal knowledge may have been less atypical.

Her concern to preserve her title to her inheritance, her assumption of authority in the manorial courts attached to her lands, her manoeuvres to buy back the guardianship of her grandson, her signing of deeds, all these activities stemmed from a knowledge of the law but did not involve entering the courts. Most of her legal undertakings which did not result in litigation are known only through the chance survival of her letters. It is possible that other, less well documented gentlewomen also engaged with the law in this way; they may have understood the law without necessarily using it in the courts.

There is anecdotal evidence that gentlewomen undertook legal manoeuvres which were not formally recorded in the courts. In 1538 Lady Honor Lisle informed her husband that she had transferred some land: 'I have acknowledged before a Judge the surrender of my right in [lands] which was my jointure'.<sup>45</sup> A letter reveals that in 1570 Lady Lawrence set out to go to the courts in London, but the particular jurisdiction she wanted was prorogued.<sup>46</sup> Further, this female knowledge of legal matters was sometimes acknowledged by men. Thomas Steward told the Elizabethan Court of Requests that 'hee cannot perfectly aunswere . . . before hee have had conference' with his wife Margerie.<sup>47</sup> Likewise John Sadler told an equity court that he could not 'convenyently Aunswer' without consulting his wife Isabel.<sup>48</sup> And in 1568 a messenger gave testimony that he had served an injunction on Sir Edward Bray, who had agreed to obey the orders of the Court of Requests, but that 'foorthwith the Lady his wife came to him and did stand with him, and immediatly hee changed his former speaking, and saide that hee woulde pay no money'.<sup>49</sup> This scattered evidence suggests that it was possible for sixteenth-century gentlewomen to understand the law and to be active in legal undertakings without entering the courts or appearing in the official records.

Isabel Plumpton's legal activities are particularly well documented; evidence of both her common law activities and the legal manoeuvres which did not result in litigation has survived. From this evidence tentative conclusions may be drawn, not just about

<sup>43</sup>. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, letter 235, p. 213.

<sup>44</sup>. *Ibid.*, letter 217, p. 197.

<sup>45</sup>. *The Lisle Letters: An Abridgement*, ed. Muriel St Clare Byrne (London, 1983), p. 350.

<sup>46</sup>. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1566–1579*, p. 208.

<sup>47</sup>. PRO, Court of Requests Proceedings, REQ1/21, p. 6, Elizabeth Steward v. Thomas and Margerie Steward, cited by Tim Stretton, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 138.

<sup>48</sup>. PRO, REQ1/107, p. 800, John Sadler v. Thomas Smythe *et al.*, cited by Stretton, *Women Waging Law*, p. 137.

<sup>49</sup>. Julius Caesar, *The Ancient State of the Court of Requests* (1597; repr. *The English Experience*, 785, Amsterdam, 1976), p. 132.



Isabel's own legal experiences but also about those of other sixteenth-century Yorkshire gentlewomen. It may be that these Tudor gentlewomen understood the law and used legal procedures, but did not engage in the sort of litigation which left records in the courts.







## A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECUSANT FAMILY LIBRARY: MIDDLETON OF STOCKELD

By Maureen Johnson *and* Bessie Maltby

The homes of strangers have a potent fascination. They tell us something about their lives and tastes; they help us to establish them within the framework of our understanding whereby we categorise them according to their economic, social and intellectual position. Their bookshelves give us an even greater insight into their individual mental orientation, even though, as Jason Scott-Warrens warns, 'a book owned is not necessarily a book read' and 'much that is read is not owned'.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the choice of what books to buy, either to read or to put on the shelves, tells us something about the purchaser's interests or self image. It was for this reason that the discovery of a seventeenth-century library list in the archives of the Middleton family was immediately alluring as it promised to throw light on the reading habits of a Catholic recusant family.<sup>2</sup> It appeared worthy of further examination, despite the obvious limitation imposed by the fact that no trace of the books themselves could be found.<sup>3</sup> On the assumption that the book purchases represented the tastes and interests of the inheritors of Stockeld and their families, the library has been analysed in detail. However, prior to describing the catalogue, a brief history of the family and the five Middletons who headed it during the period under discussion has been outlined so that the conclusions can be seen more readily in context.

### THE MIDDLETONS

By the time of the Reformation, the Middletons were old-established Yorkshire gentry whose landholdings were in the Wetherby area and in Middleton and Ilkley in Wharfedale. By the sixteenth century the main domicile of the head of the family was at Stockeld in Sicklinghall in the parish of Spofforth; their other manors were either rented out or managed by younger sons or dowagers. Before the time of the Reformation, they had enjoyed the respect and responsibilities of their class. At least two had been knighted and one had been High Sheriff of Yorkshire. They were linked by marriage to many of the influential families of the county. Elizabeth's religious settlement, however, had forced uncomfortable choices upon them, and along with some other gentry families in the area they felt unable to conform to the rites of the established church. From this point until the end of the seventeenth century, the family suffered varying fortunes according to the strength of individual conviction, the prevailing climate of opinion and the energy with which the authorities attempted to enforce the legal penalties of recusancy.

<sup>1</sup> Jason Scott-Warren, 'News, Sociability and Book buying in Early Modern England — The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library*, 7th series, 1 (2000), p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD59/5/5/11, formerly MD59/12/61. (The Middleton MSS are being recatalogued and renumbered. New and former numbers are given where possible.)

<sup>3</sup> Only one book, *The Office of the Blessed Virgin* believed to have belonged to Mary Middleton in the late 1650s, was traced to the archives of Ampleforth School, ref. AA061/8C43, but it cannot be stated with any certainty that it was one of the two volumes of that name on the Middleton list. David Carpenter, *The Road to Ruin* (Otley, 1999), p. 286, claims that two of the books found their way into private collections in America.



Of those who headed the family from the late sixteenth century, the first, William Middleton, inherited from his father John Middleton while he was still a minor in 1565. Some of the vicissitudes of his life have already been dealt with in an article previously published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* which details his travels in France and Italy in the period 1579–84.<sup>4</sup> After his second marriage in 1592 to Anne Towneley of Towneley, he appears to have become more stubbornly recusant and he was imprisoned for his faith in York Castle in 1599.<sup>5</sup> He was succeeded in 1614 by his son, Peter Middleton, who was of a much more flexible disposition. Knighted by James I in 1617, he appears to have been a church papist, who attended his parish church and thus avoided the more severe financial pressures endured by his father and son; nevertheless he paid the recusancy fines of his wife, Mary, daughter of David Ingleby, who remained obdurately Catholic throughout. There is a suggestion that Sir Peter was a genial man, much liked by his tenants and neighbours.<sup>6</sup> Letters from Endymion Porter in 1638 and 1639 refer to hunting hounds received or requested from Sir Peter which suggests that he was a well-known dog-breeder for the chase.<sup>7</sup> Despite his known Catholicism he seems to have been well connected, and friendly letters exist from Fairfax of Menston<sup>8</sup> and from Thomas, Lord Wentworth (later the Earl of Strafford) when he was the king's Lord Deputy in Ireland in 1638.<sup>9</sup> A collection of receipts testifies that he and his family employed the services of the king's tailor, Peter Macaulay or Pierre Macala as he was sometimes known.<sup>10</sup> Both Sir Peter and his wife died during the Civil War, Lady Mary Middleton being apparently buried in York Minster in 1643 during the Siege of York.<sup>11</sup> Sir Peter Middleton's son, William Middleton, who succeeded him in 1645, was more overtly Catholic, and as a noted recusant who had fought on the side of the King in the Civil War, his estates were confiscated and sold in 1651.<sup>12</sup> The remainder of his life was devoted to retrieving his estate, which had been purchased by friends. He died in 1658, still hugely indebted, and his infant son, John Middleton, inherited the mortgaged estate. John's early years, under the influence of a Catholic mother, Katherine, the daughter of Viscount Dunbar, saw the final restoration of the estate in 1668/9.<sup>13</sup> He married Jane Strickland in 1672 but died without progeny in c. 1700.<sup>14</sup> During the 1680s, John Middleton spent about four years abroad, whither he had fled in the wake of the Popish Plot of 1678. He had been associated with Thomas Gascoigne in the deposition of Robert Bolron brought before Richard Shaw, Lord Mayor of York in October 1679, in which Bolron claimed that various Catholic gentlemen had conspired together to plot the assassination of the King in favour of his Catholic brother James (later James II), then Duke of York.<sup>15</sup> Although Bolron's testimony was discredited, John Middleton, as a noted recusant, clearly felt vulnerable to the anti-Catholic hysteria which swept the country as

<sup>4</sup> J. Bosworth, P. Hudson, M. Johnson & D. Shillitoe, 'William Middleton: Innocent Abroad or Government Spy?' *YAJ*, 72 (2000), pp. 93–106.

<sup>5</sup> J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Ave* (Tiptree, Essex, 1976), p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Collyer and J. Horsfall Turner, *Ilkley: Ancient and Modern* (Otley, 1885), p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> YAS, MD59/13/Misc/46, 48 (original number).

<sup>8</sup> YAS, MD59/13/Misc/43 (orig. no.).

<sup>9</sup> YAS, MD59/13/Misc/121 (orig. no.).

<sup>10</sup> YAS, MD59/19/284 (orig. no.).

<sup>11</sup> The evidence for the Minster burial is circumstantial and has been deduced from the following documents: 'Register of Burials in York Minster', ed. Robert H. Skaife, *YAJ*, 1 (1870), p. 233 no. 33; YAS, MD59/19/122, 138.

<sup>12</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, SP23/105.

<sup>13</sup> YAS, MD59/4/4/13, formerly MD59/14/135.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of County Families of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, II (London, 1874).

<sup>15</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gascoigne MSS, GC/F6/16; *Depositions from York Castle*, ed. James Raine, Surtees Society, 40 (1861), p. 243 f.n.



a result of the supposed plot, and deemed it wise to absent himself awhile from his native land. Perhaps significantly, for a brief period in 1688, before James II's 'abdication', he was nominated by Thomas Howard, Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, as one of his deputies.<sup>16</sup> His brother Peter Middleton inherited the estate upon his death. Like John, he was a devout Catholic who was reputedly imprisoned at York in 1680 for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance.<sup>17</sup> It is not certain how long he remained in prison, or whether he too escaped to France. It is recorded on 4 April 1679 that he and his brother John with three servants and Thomas Gascoigne had applied to travel to parts beyond the seas,<sup>18</sup> but whether he had actually returned from abroad by the time of his imprisonment, or had not actually left the country has not yet been ascertained. He died in 1714, four years before the book list was compiled, and eleven years after the last dated book on the list.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE CATALOGUE

The list is handwritten in an unbound stitched paper book in folio consisting of six and a half sheets including the covers. The writing covers ten sides. It was drawn up and signed by a William Sagg in 1718 and it catalogued books which were printed (though not necessarily first published) between 1550 and the beginning of the eighteenth century and which were said to have been housed at *Stockhill*, the spelling of Stockeld sometimes used by non-family members. For this reason it has been concluded that William Sagg was not a member of the Middleton household, or else that he was newly arrived. It seems most likely that he was an outside assessor, although the date of the list does not correspond to the known death of any Middleton so it does not appear to have been part of a probate inventory. The collection was valued at £30 os. 0d. The books were listed according to size, and Sagg had put a total for each section: folios (seventy-nine), quartos (sixty-one) and octavos and others (202) giving a grand total of 342 items.

The catalogue follows the normal pattern of giving author, short title, date and place of publication. Unfortunately there are many gaps in this basic information, particularly towards the end of the list; sometimes the name of the author is omitted, sometimes there is no place of publication and/or date.<sup>19</sup> Occasionally some reference is made to the state of the volume, for example 'Lodge's Josephus wants Title and Binding'; 'An Old Latin Bible wants the Title'; 'Chaucer's Works old', or to a particular type of binding. Three of those printed in the Low Countries in the 1660s have ELZ written after them which is an abbreviation for Elzevier, the name of a family of printers in Amsterdam and Leiden (1592–1680) which was famous chiefly for its editions of the classics. These books were apparently bound in limp vellum and prized because of their generous size and the width of their margins.<sup>20</sup> There are some unhelpful entries such as '11 vols: more of Italian & Spanish'.

A total of 342 items seems a very modest collection to represent the acquisitions of a century, although it must be said that it is not known whether this represents all the books possessed by the family, who owned several houses. It is possible, as Scott-Warren suggests, that only reputable books have been listed and that the racier sort of literature

<sup>16</sup>. YAS, MD59/7/1/8–12, formerly MD59/5/96–100.

<sup>17</sup>. *Depositions*, Surtees Society, 40, p. 269 f.n.

<sup>18</sup>. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1679–1680*, p. 338.

<sup>19</sup>. YAS, MS1671. Joan Knott has transcribed the book-list and given the complete title with reference to STC, Wing, BL and other published catalogues and bibliographies where it has been possible.

<sup>20</sup>. Esther Potter, 'To Paul's Churchyard to treat with a Bookbinder', in *Property of a Gentleman*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1991), p. 29.



might have been omitted as not worthy of notice.<sup>21</sup> The Stockeld library is small compared with that of the notable seventeenth-century scholar, John Locke, who had a library of about 3000 books at the time of his death, or with that of the collector John Morris, who is thought to have possessed in excess of 1500 titles.<sup>22</sup> However, despite the fact that there were three Elzevier editions, there is no further evidence that the Middleton family were either book collectors or particularly scholarly, and other gentry book-lists that we shall discuss later fell short of the two notable examples quoted above, which suggests that the Middletons were reasonably representative of their class.<sup>23</sup> What is noteworthy about the Middleton list is that more than 50 per cent of the books were in languages other than English which points to the fact that the family (or the book-buying members of it) seemed to be at home in a wider European culture.

THE LIBRARY AT STOCKELD, SUBJECT ANALYSIS

In order to make some sense of the list, the contents of which had been grouped by size rather than subject, author or chronology, an attempt was made to place the books into ten major subject categories. That this was not always easy to do, or wholly satisfactory, will become apparent later.

In a century and a half in which religion was the driving force, it is hardly surprising to find that theological works account for nearly a third of the library. This is in line with what had been noticed in some, though not all, seventeenth-century libraries. However, as the Middletons were a Catholic recusant family, many of the books of interest to them would have been difficult to come by. The licensing system for the publication of new books devised by Elizabeth in 1559 was aimed at suppressing the Roman Catholic point of view, and subsequent legislation ensured draconian punishment of those who sought to violate the law or to attempt to import forbidden books from

TABLE 1: The Middleton holdings by subject

Subject	Number	% (rounded)
Theology	101	29.5
History/Biography/Letters/Memoirs	93	27.0
Politics/Law	26	7.5
Modern Literature	25	7.5
Geography/Exploration/Travel	19	5.5
Philosophy	13	4.0
Reference	13	4.0
Classical Literature	4	1.0
Miscellaneous	11	3.0
Unidentified	37	11.0
Total	342	100.0

<sup>21</sup> Scott-Warren in *The Library*, 7th ser., 1, p. 382.  
<sup>22</sup> *The Library of John Morris*, ed. T. A. Birrell (British Library Publishing, 1976); *The Library of John Locke*, ed. J. Harrison and P. Laslett (Oxford, 1965).  
<sup>23</sup> Derbyshire County Record Office, The Library of Anne Ravell (1724) D184/M/F15; The Library of the Gell family of Hopton (n.d. but predominantly seventeenth century) D258/32/27; Northamptonshire Record Office, The Library of the Brooke Family of Oakley (1716), B(O) Vol. 4; Castle Howard Archives, 'Catalogue of Charles, Earl of Carlisle's books in his library in So-Ho Square, London' (1698), H2/3/8.



TABLE 2: Comparison of subject matter in the libraries of the Middletons (1718), Anne Ravell (1724), the Brooke family of Oakley (1716) and the Gell family of Hopton (c. 1718), and the London library of the Earl of Carlisle (1698)

Subject	Middleton		Ravell		Brooke		Gell		Carlisle	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Theology	101	29.5	192	37.0	40	13.0	382	39.0	129	18.0
Hist/Biog etc.	93	27.0	42	8.0	21	7.0	122	12.5	183	28.0
Politics/Law	26	7.5	56	11.0	66	21.25	77	8.0	56	8.0
Mod. Lit.	25	7.5	32	6.0	66	21.25	19	2.0	69	10.0
Geog/Travel	19	5.5	12	2.5	2	0.5	16	1.5	39	5.0
Philosophy	13	4.0	22	4.0	6	2.0	78	8.0	39	5.0
Reference	13	4.0	23	4.5	15	5.0	30	3.0	19	2.0
Class. Lit.	4	1.0	5	1.0	17	5.5	36	3.5	20	3.0
Science, Medicine & Maths			27	5.5			31	3.0	26	3.0
Miscellaneous	11	3.0	49	9.5	38	12.25	76	8.0	67	9.0
Unidentified	37	11.0	57	11.0	38	12.25	114	11.5	63	9.0
Total	342	100	517	100	309	100	981	100	710	100

abroad.<sup>24</sup> It therefore seemed interesting to examine more closely the nature of the theological books that they had collected.

As might have been expected, a large proportion of them, about forty-four in number, were books which were entirely devotional in character and included Bibles, missals, catechisms, sermons, meditations and confessions. Examples of this class of book were the *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, St Augustine's *City of God*, Brereley's *The Lyturgie of the Masse*, *Les Confessions* of St Augustine, de Bersat's *Sermons*, Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, Père Novet's *Méditations* and the *Eikon Basilike*, which was based on the supposed meditations of Charles I before his execution. As far as could be judged from the books which Sagg had dated, most of the devotional books seemed to belong to the later part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century, and to the decade 1660–69. Relating these to the family, the earlier ones could have been purchased by the William Middleton who was imprisoned for his faith, and the later ones by the widow of the second William Middleton.

Of the remaining fifty-seven theological books, some seemed fairly controversial in character. There were several books relating to the Council of Trent (1545–63) which had sought to reform church abuses and to strengthen the power of the Roman Catholic Church. However, one in particular, Brent's 1620 translation of *The History of the Council of Trent* by Paolo Sarpi (1553–1623), the Venetian historian and philosopher, who had previously waged a pamphlet war against papal power and pomp,<sup>25</sup> would have been of especial interest to the beleaguered Middletons for whom, faced with enormous pressure to deny the supremacy of the Pope, the subject of papal authority must have been of vital interest. Surprisingly there was also a book by the anti-Jesuit Jansenist, Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales or the Mystery of Jésuitisme* (1656–57). Coming closer to home were several works referring to or disputing with the Bishop of Worcester, Dr Stillingfleet, who in 1671 had published a discourse criticising the idolatry practised by the Church of Rome.

<sup>24</sup> F. S. Siebert *Freedom of the Press 1476–1776* (Urbana, Ill., 1965), pp. 56 ff; A. C. Southern, *English Recusant Prose 1559–1582* (London and Glasgow, 1950), pp. 33 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Marvin O'Connell, *The Counter Reformation 1566–1610* (New York, 1974), pp. 307 ff.



Notable were the *Catholique Apologie* of the Earl of Castlemaine, which contained a complete justification of the Catholics morally and politically, and Thomas Godden's *Catholicks No Idolaters or a Full Refutation of Dr Stillingfleet's Unjust Charge*. The impression that members of the Middleton family had followed ancient and contemporary disputes within the Roman church as well as the more recent arguments between Catholic and Protestant was reinforced by a substantial collection of theological histories written by both the French Jesuit, Maimbourg (*Histoire de l'Hérésie des Iconoclastes; Traité Historique de l'Établissement et des Prérogatives de l'Église de Rome et de ses Évêques; Histoire de Calvinisme; Histoire de l'Arianisme*) and the English Protestant, Peter Heylin (*History of the Reformation* and *History of the Presbyterians* published in 1661 and 1670 respectively). Certain classic books were also present, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated as *History of the Church of England*, in its 1565 Antwerp edition and Dugdale's *Monasticon*, an account of English monastic houses.

If any conclusion can be reached from an examination of the theological holdings, it must be of a family devout in the practice of their religion, interested to keep abreast of Catholic writings and controversies and, towards the end of the seventeenth century, either because there was an easing of religious persecution or because the book-buying members were temporally resident in a country more sympathetic to their religious persuasion, able to cast a more detached eye over the vicissitudes of the previous centuries. Overall, in matters theological, the Middletons seemed unexpectedly wide-ranging in their choice of material.

Although the books categorised as History/Biography were second in popularity to those of a theological nature, it must be admitted that there were problems of classification. After consideration it was decided to omit from this section all titles which seemed to deal with the history of the Church, putting those, as was seen above, under the general umbrella of Theology. As, however, it must be borne in mind that this was an age when politics and religion were inextricably mingled, this involved some difficult decisions. Davila's *The Historie of the Civil Wars in France*, it could be argued, could belong to either category since the conflict described was rooted in religious difference. However, as the leading protagonists were engaged in a struggle for political power, we finally decided to classify it as history. This was the criterion we used for the rest. In this section we also included Memoirs, as for example those of Henriette-Sylvie de Molière and of De Bassompierre, and Letters, which included collections of Erasmus, James Howell and Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Turks. The Biographies covered Mary Queen of Scots and all the Tudor monarchs with the surprising exception of Mary Tudor. There were also biographies of French monarchs and statesmen like Colbert and Mazarin and of Italian churchmen like Cardinals Bentivoglio and Bellarmine.

Of those which were categorised as History, the histories, both ancient and modern, of many major European countries were included. Various classical texts about the ancient world were listed, for example those by Tacitus, Quintus Curtius and Lodge's translation of *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus*. There appeared to be an avid appetite for modern European history and these included histories, both general and particular, of France, England, the Low Countries, Spain and Italy. A 1579 English translation of Guicciardini's *The historie . . . conteining the warres of Italie and other partes*, was a reminder that this was the year that William Middleton left England for his travels abroad, which took him into Italy, and one feels the book must surely have been purchased in preparation for this undertaking.<sup>26</sup> Books on the contemporary conflict between Turkey and Austria were purchased hot from the press, it seems, for there were two 1684 dated copies of

<sup>26</sup> Bosworth *et al.* in *IAJ*, 72 (2000), pp. 93 ff.



Johann Peter von Valcaren's *Siege of Vienna*, an event which had taken place the previous year. As Scott-Warren points out, there was often a close relationship between the buying of books and the demand for news.<sup>27</sup> There was an early book (1600) entitled *The History of the Troubles of Hungarie* and several known to have been published in the 1680s on *The Conquest of Buda* and *The Present State of Hungarie*. The overriding impression of the historical collection was that there had been a deep and continuing interest throughout the period in European affairs.

The Philosophy section, albeit fairly limited, yet showed a certain coherence with its emphasis on the works of ancient and contemporary stoics. Although we categorised Lodge's Seneca as Classical Literature, philosophically it expressed stoicism, which was also dominant in the work of the second-century writer, Marcus Aurelius, a life of whom published in the sixteenth century may have influenced other writers on our list, including Lipsius.

The books which came under the heading Law/Politics contained ten law books and sixteen which seemed to have a political connotation. As country landowners, the family were involved in the manorial courts of their estate except during the interregnum.<sup>28</sup> Dalton's *Countrie Justice* (1622) is listed as well as Coke's commentary (1629) on Sir Thomas Littleton. These, along with *Landlord's Law* (undated but first published in 1665) and Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills* (1590) suggest useful books of reference for a family in their position. The books deemed political dealt mainly with the trials of those people believed to have been involved in such conspiracies as the Popish Plot of 1678 (Plunkett, Stafford and Oates) and the Rye House Plot of 1683 (Walcot and Russell). These trials would have been of burning interest to the Catholic Middletons, particularly to John and Peter Middleton. There was also the Earl of Castlemaine's *Manifesto*, which was a defence of himself against the charge that he was concerned in the same plot.

Disappointingly, there was little literature, but what there was of modern literature (i.e. post Chaucer) was written in English, Latin (John Barclay's *Argenis*, first published in 1621, and Hugo Grotius's *Poemata*, dated 1639 in the Middleton list), Italian (Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* which was first published in its complete form in 1532) and French (Mme de Lafayette's *La Princesse de Clèves* in its 1678 edition). There was a translation from the Spanish of *Guzman de Alfarache*, a picaresque novel (dated 1623, the year after it was first translated into English). Some English playwrights appeared on the list, for example, Ben Jonson (1573–1637), Beaumont (1584–1616) and Fletcher (1579–1625) and Aphra Behn (*The Lovers' Watch*, published in 1686),<sup>29</sup> but Shakespeare (1564–1616) was noticeably absent. Neither were there any of the quarto collections of plays, such as those found in the library of Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn Hall, which apparently counted as light reading in this period.<sup>30</sup> The poets Donne (1572–1631) and Herbert (1593–1633), both of whom could be described as religious poets, were represented, but there was also a copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queen* (dated on this list 1617 but first published in 1589) and an old undated copy of work by Chaucer (who lived 1343–1400). Amongst the works difficult to classify were several *Miscellanies*. Although these were eventually categorised as Unidentified, it could be that, as Birrell suggests, they contained light reading, 'facetiae, burlesques and joco-seria'. One of them might have referred to the *Miscellanies* of John Aubrey published in 1696, which was a book of stories and folklore, but without dates

<sup>27</sup> Scott-Warren in *The Library*, 7th ser., 1, pp. 382 ff.

<sup>28</sup> YAS, MD59/3/7/10, formerly MD 59/12/203–207, 209, 213, 226, 227.

<sup>29</sup> *Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 1975), p. 126.

<sup>30</sup> T. A. Birrell, 'Light Reading in the Seventeenth Century Gentleman's Libraries', in *Property of a Gentleman*, ed. Myers & Harris, p. 114.



it is impossible to identify them precisely.<sup>31</sup> The erotic was to be found in *Lettres d'une Religieuse Portugaise* (1681 but first published in 1669) attributed to Marianna Alcaforado but more likely written by the French writer Guilleragues.

Classical Literature was represented by Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the English translation of Sandys (1632 but first published 1621–26), Lodge's translation of the works of Seneca (possibly a first edition of 1614), an unattributed English translation of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan and a translation of *The Epistles* of Ovid, who enjoyed much popularity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

What is very noticeable is that most of the modern literature dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, that is, the period when Sir Peter Middleton was the head of the Middleton family, while the second half, with the exception of the work of Aphra Behn, is dominated by untranslated French novels or poetry such as the elegant society-verse of Voiture and Sarasin, and was probably purchased by John Middleton or possibly by his younger brother, Peter, who might have accompanied him into exile.

Of the nineteen books classified as Geography and Travel, eight appeared to be descriptions of individual countries — Italy, Poland, the Levant, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, Britain, Russia — while some seemed to concentrate on individual towns — Candia (the Italian name for Iraklion in Northern Crete), Paris, Moscow and London (Stowe's *Survey of London*). One or two took a wider canvas, such as the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of the Antwerp scholar and geographer, Abraham Ortelius, first published in 1570, which was reputedly used by Marlowe when he planned Tamburlaine's conquests,<sup>32</sup> and Michel-Antoine Baudrand's *Novum lexicon geographicum* (1677).

The Reference section contained dictionaries, catalogues, gazetteers, an almanac and Dugdale's *The Baronage of England*.

The Miscellaneous section consisted of those books whose subjects could not be fitted into any of the major categories, but whose subject matter was clear from the title, such as Markham's *Country Farm* and *Maister-Piece* on country affairs and horsemanship respectively; Hodder's *Arithmetick*; Hannah Wooley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion*; Brooke's *Discoverie of Errours in Heraldry*; Moore's *Elements of Architecture* and John Parkinson's *Garden of Flowers*, all of which speak quite eloquently for themselves.

Finally there were those unidentified items which had neither title nor author (fifteen volumes in Italian and Spanish; three Latin manuscripts; five manuscripts; three miscellanies) of which there were twenty-six altogether, or whose title gave insufficient evidence of the content (such as 'A manuscript of the Earl of Essex' or 'Recuil [sic] des Édits de la Hoguet 3 vols') or which were identified simply by a name (*La Comtesse d'Issembourg*) of which there were twelve.

While all libraries reflect the character and interests of the owner or owners, what is omitted from a library can sometimes be as telling as what is included. It has already been mentioned that there was little that could be categorised as light reading in the book-list, nor indeed very much in the way of literature. When other similar lists were examined, it was noticed that the Middleton library contained other significant omissions. Some libraries seemed more representative of the lay interests of the period.<sup>33</sup>

It has to be remembered that this was an age of intense scientific speculation and enquiry. Although Galileo's discoveries were by no means universally accepted, there was ongoing fascination for things astronomical as well as astrological. Newton's theories of gravitation, although not published until 1687, had been formulated about twenty

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114; *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. Margaret Drabble (Oxford, 1985), p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> M. St Clare Byrne, *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (Stroud, 1987), p. 253.

<sup>33</sup> See Table 2.



years previously, and there was also interest in medicine and mathematics. The Gell, Ravell and Carlisle catalogues all contain introductions to the subject of astronomy, whilst the Middleton library contains nothing of this nature at all.<sup>34</sup> Carlisle and Ravell possess books on the various branches of mathematics and its applications whereas the Middletons could only list Hodder's *Arithmetick*, a basic primer. Nor was there any apparent interest in natural history or in anatomy or physick (that is, medicine). Several books like Sir Kenelm Digby's *Receipts* and Culpepper's *English Physitian* were found on the lists of the Gells, Ravells and Carlises and would have had a practical application in a large household of family and servants, but were absent from the Middletons' library. Whereas the profession of law would almost certainly have been open to the younger sons of gentry families, this was an avenue theoretically prohibited to convicted recusants for much of the period under discussion. So it is not surprising to discover that the Middleton list lacked the books found in the Brooke catalogue which suggested that the law had been systematically studied.

What is perhaps more remarkable is the lack of books or pamphlets on what must have been the burning issue during the middle years of the seventeenth century, namely the balance of power between the king and parliament. Although they were clearly keen to follow events as they unfolded, witness the bundle of newsletters and copies of crucial speeches made by the king and members of parliament between 1621 and 1641,<sup>35</sup> yet they appear not to have been inclined to study political theory. *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, Harrington's book in which he outlined his republican ideas,<sup>36</sup> though found on the list of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, is not included in that of the Middletons;<sup>37</sup> both the Ridell and Gell lists contain several books by the political philosopher, Hobbes, while the Middletons possessed only Thomas Hobbes's *A Letter about Liberty and Necessity* (1677); and despite the fact that William Middleton made use of the services of the Republican, John Wildman, in 1652 when he was repurchasing his estates after they had been confiscated by parliament,<sup>38</sup> and is known to have entertained that gentleman's wife at Stockeld,<sup>39</sup> none of his pamphlets appear to have found a resting place amongst his client's books, either because they were too dangerous or maybe because, as Catholics, the members of this family were never in any doubt where their loyalties lay.

The overriding impression created by the omissions in the Middleton book-list is of people who had little interest in keeping abreast of those abstract intellectual developments of the age which might have challenged the assumptions of their world-picture.

## ANALYSIS BY DATE OF PRINTING

A hundred and ninety-four books were dated out of a total of 342 items (56.5 per cent). It will be seen from Table 3 that the dates of printing started in the decade 1530–39 and the last date mentioned was 1703 with an almanac for that year. Two sixteenth-century decades, 1540–59, were completely unrepresented. Only fourteen of the total dated were printed in the sixteenth century (7.2 per cent). One hundred and seventy-nine (92.3 per cent) were printed in the seventeenth century and only one in the eighteenth century. It would be dangerous to make too much of these figures since there are not sufficient dated

<sup>34</sup> DCRO, D184/M/F15; DCRO, D258/32/27; Northants. RO, B(O) vol. 4; Castle Howard Archives, H2/3/8.

<sup>35</sup> YAS, MD59/22/A (orig. no.).

<sup>36</sup> M. Ashley, *John Wildman* (London, 1947), pp. 131 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cumbria Record Office, Earl of Lonsdale MSS, D/Lons/W1/54.

<sup>38</sup> John Wildman acted as an intermediary in the sale of William Middleton's sequestered property in 1652/3. YAS, MD59/4/4/11, formerly MD59/25/30.

<sup>39</sup> YAS, MD59/13/Misc/101, 102 (orig. no.).



TABLE 3: Dates of printing

Decades	Number
1530-39	3
1540-49	0
1550-59	0
1560-69	2
1570-79	3
1580-89	2
1590-99	4
1600-09	8
1610-19	10
1620-29	21
1630-39	17
1640-49	7
1650-59	8
1660-69	19
1670-79	35
1680-89	47
1690-99	7
1700-09	1
1710-18	0
Total of dated books	194
Total of undated books	138
Manuscripts	10
Total	342

books to see them as representative of the whole collection. Although it was possible to discover the dates of first publication of a fair number of the undated books,<sup>40</sup> it would be unwise to assume that the Middletons acquired these books when they were first published. In fact, when a comparison was made between the dated books and the known date of first publication, it was found that fifty-seven (about 29.5 per cent) were printed in the first year of publication, ten (c. 5 per cent) within four years and twelve (c. 6 per cent) within twenty years of first publication. The rest (about 60 per cent) were printed outside this twenty year time scale. It is difficult to make a definite conclusion from these figures. One could argue that some attempt had been made in later years to acquire first editions, or one could assume simply that the family bought some books of interest to them as and when they appeared on the market and others any length of time after first publication, very much as a modern reader would.

If one concentrates solely on the dated books on our list, it is tempting to see the increase in numbers as time goes by as symptomatic of the increase in reading matter being published and a growth in book buying generally; on the other hand it could be that older books had been lost or discarded over the years. Having made these qualifications, it is interesting to note the increase culminating in eighty-two (41.9 per cent of all dated books) being published in the twenty years 1670-89. There is a drop in numbers for the decades 1640-59, the period of the Civil War and Interregnum. Otherwise, there is a steady increase over the whole of the seventeenth century until the final decade when there is an unaccountable dropping off. How do we interpret these findings? It is known

<sup>40</sup> YAS, MS1671, Knott.



that the Middleton family suffered greatly as a result of their Catholicism and their support for the king during the Civil War. Their estates were confiscated and sold, and although it is known that they managed to buy them back over a long period of time through a third party, this would have involved them in enormous expense which would have left them little for the luxury of buying books. On the other hand, book-buying is an extremely personal matter, and the years of plenty might have reflected the personal disposition of the owner. Certainly John Middleton, who inherited the estate in 1658, seems to have presided over the period of most intense book acquisition. He died in 1700. It could be that his final illness and demise accounted for what seems an extraordinary decline in the final decade of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century. His brother seems to have added nothing to the library.

It was difficult from the limitations mentioned above to determine whether any particular interest predominated with one owner of the estate over another. Theology and History seem to have been the main interests throughout the period. In the years up to 1600, Theology seems to have predominated, but between 1600 and 1669, with the exception of the decade 1620–29, there appear to be more historical acquisitions. Thereafter, Theology seems the favoured subject. If the dated books show a representative cross-section, it would seem that the more pragmatic Peter Middleton concentrated less on Theology, whereas his father and, particularly, his grandson were more avidly interested in religious matters. What is marked is the increased interest in the politics of the period following the 1679 plots, with accounts of the trials of suspected persons, but this is easily explained by John Middleton’s alleged involvement in the Popish Plot.

ANALYSIS BY LANGUAGE

It has already been noted that more than half the books on the Middleton list were in languages other than English. Table 4 reveals that books published in English account for about 48 per cent of the total; Latin and French account for 19 per cent and 18.7 per cent respectively. It is not so surprising to find a quantity of books in Latin, since this was still the lingua franca of Europe and would, in any case, have been the natural second language of a Catholic family. It is more surprising to find so many written in French.

When an examination was made of the dated books, it was discovered that there was only one publication written in French before 1620. There was a steady increase from 1640 onwards until the decade 1680–89 when dated items in French overtake the English dated books. It is interesting to conjecture what events precipitated this acquisition on a fairly large scale of volumes written in French and published in France. There exists a

TABLE 4: Analysis of the languages represented

Language	Number
English	164
Latin	65
French	64
Italian	19
Spanish	3
Spanish and Italian (grouped together)	11
Unsure	16
Total	342



passport dated 29 June 1625 for John and William Middleton of Stockhill to travel overseas provided they did not go to the city of Rome.<sup>41</sup> This must refer to the two eldest sons of Sir Peter Middleton, who would have been quite young at this time, probably not much more than ten years old. However, as it is certainly known that one of his youngest sons, Thomas, was educated overseas and was later ordained a priest,<sup>42</sup> maybe these two also were sent abroad to a Catholic seminary. In this case it would not be surprising if, when they reached manhood, they should be interested in or at least able to read French. It has already been mentioned that John Middleton, the grandson of Sir Peter Middleton, possibly accompanied by his brother, fled to France in 1679 in the aftermath of the Popish plot but that he was home again by 1685, since there are records of leases bearing his signature dating from that year. A sojourn of four or five years abroad might indeed account for the number of French publications of the 1680s and it is certainly not too fanciful to imagine John Middleton whiling away the years of exile reading Maimbourg's religious histories.

It seems likely that the Italian manuscripts and the *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (1577) date from the period of the earlier William Middleton's travels abroad in the late sixteenth century, as also the copy of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, the Boccaccio and Bishop Cornelio Musso's *I quattro libri delle prediche*. Maybe the Spanish manuscripts also entered the family library following a period of travel.

It was this preponderance of books written in the romance languages which significantly differentiated the Middletons from the other gentry families whose library lists we studied. All of them had a much greater proportion written in English and only the Earl of Carlisle came anywhere near possessing the same number of French books in what was a much larger library.

ANALYSIS BY PLACE OF IMPRINT

Sagg identified the place of printing of 161 items out of a total of 332 printed books (48 per cent). As might be expected, nearly half were printed in England and the majority of these in London. A word of explanation is necessary about the *Colonia* imprints. These are possibly publications of Cologne in Germany, but they could have been of several other places like Geneva, Naples or Basle according to the word which followed *Colon*.<sup>43</sup> As the word *Colon* in the Middleton list was sometimes further abbreviated to *Col*, and

TABLE 5: A comparison of the languages represented in the libraries of the Middletons, Anne Ravell, the Brooke family of Oakley, the Gell family of Hopton and the Earl of Carlisle

Language	Middleton	Ravell	Brooke	Gell	Carlisle
English	164	487	271	843	562
French	64	9	3	2	71
Latin	65	19	30	129	68
Italian/Spanish	33	—	—	2	6
Greek	—	2	4	4	3
Hebrew	—	—	1	1	—
Unsure	16	—	—	—	—
Total	342	517	309	981	710

<sup>41</sup>. YAS, MD59/24/21 (orig. no.).  
<sup>42</sup>. YAS, MD59/4/4/3, formerly MD59/21/packet 7/36.  
<sup>43</sup>. *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p. 216.



never had any amplification, it is difficult to determine which place of imprint was intended, and as five were written in French and two in Latin, the language gives no clue. The Short Title Catalogues, while acknowledging a false imprint, suggest variously Amsterdam, Rouen and Utrecht as well as England for the *Colon* imprints.<sup>44</sup> The only one written in English with a *Colon* imprint was Brereley's *Liturgie of the Masse* which was reputedly published secretly at the Birchly Hall Press in Lancashire.<sup>45</sup> Although Brereley's *The Protestants' Apologie for the Roman Church* was also published secretly in England in 1604, Sagg's list appears to contain a later edition (1608), the date of one known to have been published by the St Omer English College press.

A considerable proportion of the library, about 28 per cent, was published in France, and the majority of these were published in Paris. When the dates for the Paris publi-

TABLE 6: Place of imprint

Country	Town	No.	%
England	London	70	46
	Oxford	4	
	Canterbury	1	
	Total	75	
France	Paris	43	28
	Douai	3	
	Total	46	
Low Countries and Germany	Amsterdam	9	13
	Antwerp	7	
	Leiden	1	
	Utrecht	1	
	Hanover	1	
	Brussels	1	
	Leuven	1	
	Total	21	
Italy	Venice	5	5
	Turin	1	
	Genoa	1	
	Bologna	1	
	Total	8	
Modern Switzerland	Basle	4	3
	Total	4	
Colonia		8	5
Total for all with place of printing		162	100

<sup>44</sup>. YAS, MS1671, Knott.

<sup>45</sup>. A. F. Allison & D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English printed abroad or secretly in England 1558-1640* (Bognor Regis, 1956), pp. 23, 24.



cations were studied, it was discovered that twenty-nine out of the thirty-nine which had a date as well as a place of publication were published in the period 1670–89. This corresponded as was seen above to the period of greatest representation. Nineteen of the Paris imprints were published between 1680 and 1687, with eight being published in the year 1680 and four in 1682. It is reasonable to assume when one looks at the number of Paris imprints culminating in the year 1684 that John Middleton brought the books back with him after his self-imposed exile. However, it must be noted that some of the undated Paris publications go back to the 1640s, and some French works were printed in Douai in 1620 and the early 1630s. The Middleton family, it seems, acquired books published in France over a considerable period of time, some of which were doubtless acquired on their travels. Others might have been obtained through legitimate booksellers who were importing books from abroad on a regular basis.

Towards the end of the document, Sagg's recording of the dates and particularly of the places of imprint became more erratic. It has been suggested that books which were printed either surreptitiously at the presses of licensed printers or at temporary presses operating in hiding places in various parts of the country either had a false imprint or no imprint at all.<sup>46</sup> Many of the books which we classified as theological had neither imprint nor date; a number with the same titles were discovered to have been printed abroad,<sup>47</sup> at the English College at St Omer or at Douai, or, like the Brereley books mentioned above, to have been printed secretly in England. Among those thought to have been printed abroad were Kellison's *Of the Hierarchie and Divers Orders of the Church against the Anarchie of Calvin* (Douai, 1629), *An End to Controversie* (Douai, 1654) and various works by Becanus (St Omer), but while it cannot be assumed with any certainty that these, or any of the books on other subjects for which dates or imprints were discovered in the catalogues, were the actual editions on the Middleton list, yet it seems likely that many proscribed books found their way into the Stockeld library from abroad. It is known that the *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis* was a popular title printed abroad by the exiled English printer, Roger Verstegan, and smuggled into England, but again, it is not known whether the book of that title on our list was one of those or whether it was the 1572 edition printed by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp. *Saint Augustine's Rule in Paris*, dated 1636 on the Middleton list, was known to have been published in Paris and translated by Miles Pinkney for the benefit of the English nuns there.<sup>48</sup> Other theological books without an imprint in the list but known to have been published abroad include Matthew Patteson's *The Image of Both the Churches Hierusalem and Babel* (Tournai, 1623)) and Thomas Bayley's *End to Controversy* (Douai, 1654).

While some of the books for which dates and imprints are not given certainly seem of

TABLE 7: Dates of Paris publications

1610–19	1
1650–59	2
1660–69	6
1670–79	9
1680–89	20
1690–99	1
Total	39

<sup>46</sup>. Allison & Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books*, p. ii.

<sup>47</sup>. Allison & Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books*, pp. 14, 80.

<sup>48</sup>. Allison & Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books*, pp. 9, 75, 146.



a religious nature, many seem innocuous enough like Hodder's *Arithmetick* and Donne's *Poems*. There seems no easy answer to the problem of these omissions and one wonders if the compiler was simply tiring of his task towards the end, when dates and imprints get notably sparser.

Nevertheless, a large number of books were of a Catholic nature; almost certainly there would have been difficulty getting them published legitimately at the presses of the licensed English printers, since the printing, importation, circulation and even reading of Catholic books were forbidden. In consequence, we get a tantalising picture of the Middleton family as the readers of proscribed books, some of which might have been obtained from a bookseller like John Foster in York in the early part of the seventeenth century, whose inventory of 1616 contained several Catholic books. It is thought these might have been intended to provide anti-Catholic ammunition for the Anglican clergy like Archbishop Matthew, whose library contained forbidden Catholic books, or they might have been intended for influential Catholic buyers in the locality like the Middleton family.<sup>49</sup> However a comparison of Foster's inventory and the Middleton list yielded only a handful of common titles, and all but two of the Middleton editions had been printed at a date later than 1616. Possibly Henry Swinburne's *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes* dated 1590 and an undated Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* could have been purchased there. Unfortunately no receipts for the purchase of books have survived in the Middleton archive, and one is left to conjecture that some of their books might have been obtained illicitly, possibly smuggled into England either by priests bound for the English mission or in the baggage of sympathetic travellers.<sup>50</sup> Or they might have been obtained through the auspices of Sir Peter Middleton's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Hodshon of Hebburn, who was a notorious recusant and who was suspected by the Bishop of Durham of 'the receving and conveyinge of Popish persons and their carriages' at his Tyneside dwelling.<sup>51</sup>

## CONCLUSION

To twenty-first-century eyes, the Middleton family presents a puzzlingly paradoxical face. On the one hand they seem to have lived in a fairly restricted mental world which they viewed predominantly through the tinted spectacles of their religion, knowledgeable of their immediate historical background but hesitant to engage in the scientific and political developments which were to mould the future. On the other, they seem startlingly modern in their European orientation: they were clearly as interested in European history as they were in British; they were familiar with the broad canvas of reformation and counter-reformation; to all appearances they were confident linguists, particularly of the romance languages. One might almost describe them, in the jargon of today, as good Europeans. How can one explain this seeming contradiction?

The answer perhaps lies in an understanding of the world they lived in. Nationalism rather than internationalism was the key to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the religious settlements of the Tudors, there was a turning away from Rome and a desire for national autonomy and aggrandisement. Latin, the common language of the old world, was giving way in all countries to the vernacular. There was a hardening of national boundaries.

From this perspective, it is possible to see people like the Middletons as stranded in

<sup>49</sup> John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Seventeenth Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616*, Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 24 (1994), pp. 29 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>51</sup> E. Mackenzie & M. Ross, *History of Durham* (Newcastle, 1834) p. 15 f.n.



the medieval world. Their Catholicism was maybe the cause of this, though it might equally well have been the manifestation of their backwardness.<sup>52</sup> To look out to the Continent for spiritual sustenance, refuge, and maybe education, even if under duress, was to hark back to a world which was fast disappearing. So what seems to us on the part of the Middletons as a commendable lack of insularity might well have seemed to their contemporaries treasonable at worst, or, at best, simply old-fashioned.

The Middletons were country landowners. As far as we know they did not speculate or dabble in trade. Deprived by the penal laws from taking part in the administrative responsibilities of their class, and with their estates, and therefore their livelihood, constantly threatened by rulers who suffered from an unremitting shortage of money, it is not hard to see why they responded as they did to what must have been a chronic insecurity, even if in doing so they further jeopardised their position; they clung to what they knew and to the old certainties. In this they were no different from millions of people before or since.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<sup>52</sup> Certainly the Catholic Church in the seventeenth century was unwilling to countenance officially Galileo's theory concerning the universe because it was seemingly contrary to holy scripture. See Dava Sobel, *Galileo's Daughter* (London, 1999), pp. 255 ff.



## THE HAWORTH CHURCH RATE CONTROVERSY

By Michael Baumber

The roots of local taxation stretch back into the early Middle Ages. From time immemorial the villagers had regarded the repair of the parish church, together with the repair of the highway or bridge or sea-wall, as a public service; and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, at the latest, the custom was formal in ecclesiastical law. The rector — that is whoever received the greater tithe — was legally responsible for repairing the chancel. The parishioners were legally responsible for repairing the nave and maintaining the churchyard. The rate levied for this purpose was probably not levied regularly, nor was its nature codified until after the Elizabethan poor law acts. The 1601 act standardised the way poor rate was collected and soon the highways rate, the church rate and the rate supporting the constable and his assistants were assessed on the same basis. They were collected on the authority of the annual vestry meeting at which the rector usually presided and where the churchwardens, poor law overseer, highways surveyor and constable were elected. With church rate, however, there was this important difference. If the parishioners refused poor rate, they were liable to penalty at common law before the secular courts. If they refused church rate, they were liable to penalty at ecclesiastical law before the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of Haworth there was an added complication. It was a chapelry within the parish of Bradford. The most that the vicar would do was provide a chaplain, who found it difficult to support himself until a supplementary income was provided by the establishment of a chantry in the fourteenth century by Adam de Oxenhope, lord of the manor of Batley. If the people of Haworth wanted more they would have to raise it themselves, so when the chantry was abolished in 1548 the inhabitants clubbed together and bought five farms in Stanbury, the rents of which were used to pay a perpetual curate. Unlike an assistant curate he had security of tenure but tithes were still paid to the parish church in Bradford, and as late as 1840 the vicar came annually to collect his Easter offerings. However, once the initial pain of raising the money was over, the question of tithes seems to have created little controversy, probably because the freeholders purchased over half of them in the early seventeenth century. There was also the benefit that the agreement allowed the local trustees to reject any nominee of the vicar they did not like. In any case as they controlled the income of the perpetual curate they could usually get the man they wanted.

In 1740 Benjamin Kennet, the vicar of Bradford, did not want William Grimshaw as curate but the trustees successfully defied him and got their way. In 1819 they refused to accept Patrick Brontë when the vicar of the time, Henry Heap, nominated him. When he substituted Samuel Redhead, there were riots at church services, which forced Redhead to leave the chapelry. Yet when Brontë approached the trustees they accepted him immediately. In this way they forced Heap to accept that the right of nomination lay with them.

The maintenance of the church was a different matter entirely. What was later to be

<sup>1</sup> O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 1, 1829–59, 3rd edn (London, 1971), p. 82.



known as the 'Brontë' church was originally built in 1488 and extended in 1590. Later, William Grimshaw attracted such large congregations that he had an extra aisle added and new pews and galleries installed. All this building was financed by the inhabitants out of their own pockets. They were also responsible for its repair and upkeep while simultaneously having to pay the 'official' church rate to Bradford. Hardly surprisingly this double impost caused great resentment. They were in effect financing their own parish and having to pay a considerable part of the upkeep of another one as well. In 1650, after the civil wars, the republican Commonwealth government instituted a survey of all church livings. Among the changes the commissioners recommended in Yorkshire was that Haworth should be made into a separate parish. The political upheavals associated with the collapse of the Commonwealth, the first Dutch War and the emergence of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector delayed consideration of Haworth's case until 1657. A petition from the inhabitants of the chapelry of Haworth in the parish of Bradford, dated 23 November 1657, was presented to the trustees for the maintenance of ministers.

Sheweth,

That S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Maliverer Bart., Sr Robert Barwick knt., Charles ffairfax esq. & Severall other Gentlemen within the Westrideing of the County of York aforesaid by vertue of a Commission to them dircted for inquireinge of Church liveinges within the said Rideinge did amongst other thinges certifie into the Pettibagg office, That the said Chappell of Haworth is distant from the Parish of Bradford seaven miles. And they did conceive it fitt that the said Chappelry should be made a district parish of itself, as by a cobby of parte of the said certificate hereunto annexed may more at large appeare.

Now forasmuch y<sup>r</sup> pet<sup>rs</sup> will engage to y<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> under their handes and seales to maintaine their Ministers without any charge at all to the publique.

They do humbly pray That Y<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> would be pleased to grant an ord<sup>r</sup> of sumons for the Churchwardens of Bradford aforesaid to show cause why the said Chappelry should not be made a district parish of itself or take such other course for the separateing of the said Chappell from the said parish Church as y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup> shall think meete.<sup>2</sup>

The recommendation of the commissioners does not seem to have been acted upon, probably because of the political turmoil which followed the death of Oliver Cromwell in September 1658. The failure was of little moment because in April 1660 the monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II and with him came a resurrected Church of England which refused to recognise any of the changes made by the interregnum governments. The belief that Haworth had been swindled out of its independence was the root cause of the conflicts over church rate between Haworth and Bradford which erupted periodically over the next 200 years.

The first clash came in 1663. Bradford had been besieged during the civil wars and the parish church had been damaged, the steeple having been particularly badly affected. Subsequently the care of the building had been neglected. With the Church of England now back in control, the vicar and his churchwardens proceeded to lay a church rate large enough to completely refurbish the parish church. The sums charged on Stanbury, Far Oxenhope and Near Oxenhope came to £30 3s. 8d.<sup>3</sup> If we had the figures for Haworth as well, the total for the chapelry would be over £40. No other year before 1700 showed a total of more than £12, and the usual figure was £6. Not unnaturally there was furious opposition, with Haworth claiming that the chapelry had never been part of the parish of Bradford. The claim was not sustainable as the evidence of Francis Corker, the vicar, clearly showed. Even the 1657 petition admitted that at that time

<sup>2</sup> Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York (BIHR), Cause Papers H2456.

<sup>3</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, 61D89/1.



Haworth was part of the parish of Bradford.<sup>4</sup> Haworth lost its case and from then on was considered once more to be liable for church rate levied for the repair and maintenance of the nave and churchyard of Bradford parish church.

The judgement did not say anything about what proportion of the rate Haworth should pay, and over the next sixteen years the Bradford churchwardens had to make repeated journeys to Haworth to try and extort money from the recalcitrant chapelry. Eventually in 1679 the Haworth chapelwardens were cited before the ecclesiastical court at York. The court supported the contention of the Bradford churchwardens that:

It is an ancient custom in the parish of Bradford thus to proportion the church lay. First that the chapelry of Haworth pay a fifth part of the whole sune; then Bradford towne a third part of the remaining sune; and the rest to be equally divided according to the ch'wardens of the several towns of Thornton, Heaton-cum-Clayton, Allerton-cum-Wilsden, Great and Little Horton, Wibsey and Bierley, Shipley, Manningham, Bolling, Eccleshill.<sup>5</sup>

Hardly surprisingly, Haworth was not happy with an arrangement by which it had to pay towards the repairs to Bradford parish church as well as Haworth church. There was no legal responsibility for maintaining the latter, but it would fall down if it were not financed. Periodically the inhabitants returned to the fray, usually, but not always, when large sums were demanded for what the vicar of Bradford and his churchwardens deemed necessary repairs and expenses. In 1682 for instance, all three chapelries within the parish of Bradford — Thornton, Wibsey and Haworth — objected to paying for the bread and wine for communion services at the parish church when they had to provide for their own sacraments as well. After a discussion the Bradford churchwardens conceded the point and ruled that each of the chapelries should be allowed 3s. 8d. out of the church lay towards defraying the costs of their own bread and wine.<sup>6</sup>

Far more serious was the continuing complaint by Haworth that it was expected to pay for the upkeep of the parish church but was not assigned any special pews there. In vain the churchwardens pointed out that neither Thornton nor Wibsey had any either and that many householders within Bradford had to take what was available when they arrived as well. Haworth objectors were not assuaged. Eventually in 1705 the whole church was repewed and a proportion of pews allotted to Haworth in relation to the number of families in the chapelry.<sup>7</sup> The only result of the move was that Haworth parishioners howled in protest at the cost, which put the rate up to £24 for 1703 and 1705, and £60 for 1704.

Perversely, there is no record of any protest by Haworth over the decision to recast and rehang the peal of six bells which led to £48 being levied on the chapelry in 1715, but ten years later there was a row over alterations to the interior of Bradford parish church. Up to this time the church had been open to the roof timbers, but the vicar, Benjamin Kennet, now proposed to put in a plaster ceiling or underdrawing. The proposal entailed a considerable outlay of money because the walls of the church needed to be reinforced to take the weight of the new ceiling. Probably anticipating opposition Kennet advertised the meeting only as one for auditing the churchwardens' accounts, about which information was not usually circulated to the chapelries, so the decision to proceed was a *fait accompli* before Thornton, Wibsey and Haworth knew what was happening.

<sup>4</sup> BIHR, Cause Papers H2452, 2454, 2456 and 2570 for the evidence of the witnesses called.

<sup>5</sup> J. James, *History of Bradford* (Bradford, 1841), p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> Bradford Cathedral, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1660–1728. Unless otherwise stated the figures for church rate which are quoted come from these accounts or the subsequent volumes which run from 1728–1828 and 1813–1914.

<sup>7</sup> A. Holroyd, *Collectanea Bradfordiana* (Saltaire, 1873), pp. 175–76.



When the case was heard at York, Kennet claimed that he was not obliged to inform the chapelwardens about what was intended, and he was supported by his clerk, Samuel Ward. The strict legal position is not clear, but the evidence of one witness after another showed that it was the established custom to advertise a parish meeting at Bradford in all the chapelries whenever any expenditure over and above the usual lay was intended. This had been done over the repewing and over the recasting of the bells. In the former case the chapelries had fought the repewing through five meetings before being outvoted. The Cause Papers do not tell us what happened, but the lay set for 1725 was little different from the neighbouring years, so the chapelries may well have won their case.<sup>8</sup>

There was then peace for sixty years. Kennet levied no more extraordinary lays and when he died, he was succeeded by James Sykes, during whose incumbency there were no disputes at all. However, renewed arguments broke out in 1785. Sykes had died in 1783 and his successor, John Crosse, was attracting such large congregations that Bradford parish church was too small to contain them. He proposed to erect galleries along the north and south sides and instal an organ. The galleries were to be financed by pew rents, but the organ was to be paid for out of church rate. There was an immediate objection from Haworth. The chapelry would receive no benefit from the organ, and the chapelwardens contested the levying of a fifth of the cost on Haworth. They argued that the Bradford churchwardens' accounts showed that Haworth had paid much less before 1679 and they maintained that the parish needed to be completely rerated.<sup>9</sup> Taxation returns suggest that a fifth part of the rate would have been a fair assessment in the middle ages, but an entry in the Haworth chapel registers for 1660 shows that the rental value was then only an eighth of the total for the parish. By the late eighteenth century the industrial revolution had changed the position entirely.<sup>10</sup> The township of Bradford was now far and away the richest part of the parish. The Bradford wardens were unmoved. Custom must be adhered to. For the five years 1785–89 Haworth withheld its rates and was cited before the consistory court at York.<sup>11</sup> Predictably the court found against Haworth because the years when the chapelwardens claimed that Haworth had paid less were those leading to the 1679 case which Haworth had lost. By this time, however, the court no longer had the power to fine or distrain on goods, and the chapelry also got away with not paying for the extensions to Bradford parish church in 1791 and 1792. As a result the Bradford wardens were forced to apply for a writ of 'mandamus' which transferred the case to the court of King's Bench. After a hearing in 1792 Mr Justice Buller found the ancient custom to be as Bradford had stated it, and Haworth lost its case for a second time.<sup>12</sup>

The only consolation was that Crosse agreed to finance the organ out of the pew rents for the north gallery and to excuse Haworth from any payments towards future repairs.<sup>13</sup> Even so, a piece of land was bought at Upper Ponden out of church rate, the rents from which were to pay the salary of the organist,<sup>14</sup> and the chapelry found itself with a bill for over £100 in legal fees.<sup>15</sup> Opposition rumbled on. In 1801 Robert Heaton was cited to appear before the consistory court for failing to attend the visitation with the other

<sup>8</sup>. BIHR, Cause Papers I 652.

<sup>9</sup>. I am indebted to Steve Wood for drawing my attention to the notes in the Haworth Registers on this point.

<sup>10</sup>. WYAS, Bradford, MM 1/c/1 for the Haworth proposal.

<sup>11</sup>. Bfd Cath., Churchwardens' Accounts, 1728–1828, pp. 249, 251, 275, 281, 291, 292.

<sup>12</sup>. James, *Bradford*, p. 208; Holroyd, *Collectanea*, p. 146.

<sup>13</sup>. e.g., they were not charged for repairs in 1806.

<sup>14</sup>. James, *Bradford*, p. 207 says Upper Ponden, Wilsden, but the Stanbury Tithe Award of 1852–53 shows it was in that hamlet.

<sup>15</sup>. WYAS, Bradford, Heaton Papers B38 and B41 show one sum of £14 8s. od. in 1786, two of £30 in 1791 and two of £30 in 1792 were paid to Robert Parker attorney of Halifax.



churchwardens. What the objection was on this occasion does not appear in the correspondence.<sup>16</sup>

In 1810 the Haworth chapelwardens found new grounds for refusing to pay. The usual custom was for the Bradford churchwardens to spend the money and then to claim reimbursement afterwards. Haworth refused to pay church rate in 1811 and again in 1812 because the chapelwardens contended that this method was illegal. Once more they were cited before the consistory court, but this time they won. The victory was a temporary one, because the Bradford churchwardens took care in subsequent years to present estimates and lay the rate 'prospectively'. By this time the sense of injustice affected all ranks of society. Even the perpetual curate, James Charnock, thought that for Haworth to have to pay £30 for every £40 paid by the township of Bradford towards the repair of the parish church was wrong and canvassed the support of the lord of the manor, Edward Ferrand, to get the proportion changed.<sup>17</sup>

But the worst was yet to come. The increasing population had led to a sharp rise in the demand for graves. In 1817 Bradford secured a private parliamentary act allowing it to purchase land for an extension to the churchyard. Unfortunately there is little flat land in Bradford, and the site was on a hillside, which required a considerable outlay to make it usable and then a continuing expense for the maintenance of the retaining walls. From 1819 to 1827 Haworth was charged £52 each year for the churchyard alone. What made matters worse was that Haworth had the same problem. New land had had to be bought in 1821, which was presumably paid for out of a local church rate.<sup>18</sup>

Nor was this all. The usual Sunday services in the eighteenth century were at 2 pm in the afternoon. In 1818, with the support of the Archbishop of York, Henry Heap, who had taken over as the Vicar of Bradford from Crosse in 1815, decided to introduce a new regular Sunday evening service. The change involved a considerable outlay of money. Lighting had to be installed and the heating had to be improved. To begin with, the lighting was paid for by voluntary subscription, but from 1824 all the expenses of the evening service were put on the church rate. Between 1800 and 1817 Haworth's usual contribution to Bradford's expenses had been between £30 and £40 a year.<sup>19</sup> Between 1819 and 1827 it was £66, which together with the £52 for the churchyard made an average total of £118 in all. Thus within the space of a few years the amount paid in church rate to Bradford had trebled!<sup>20</sup>

By 1828 the out-townships were all in revolt. Little could be done about the churchyard because it was covered by a parliamentary act, so they vented their spleen on the church expenses.<sup>21</sup> Both Wilsden and Haworth passed resolutions refusing to pay for the parish church lighting, for mourning and dumb peals for funerals and for the expenses of vestry meetings. The annual meeting also put a limit of £20 on expenses which could be claimed for visitations, so that on one occasion the Bradford churchwardens had to go without their dinner at Leeds.<sup>22</sup> They also sustained another rebuff. Expenses for the year had been underestimated by £150 so the Bradford churchwardens attempted to get a second lay, which the chapelries also refused to pay. The opinion of counsel was sought by Bradford. The lawyers thought that lighting and vestry meetings were legitimate charges

<sup>16</sup> WYAS, Bradford, Heaton Papers A514, B112, B113.

<sup>17</sup> James, *Bradford*, p. 208; WYAS, Bradford, MM 1/b/12, MM 1/c/14 and MM55/6/3.

<sup>18</sup> BIHR, Lic. Temp. 1820 and 1823 & R. K109. A temporary licence was granted by the Archbishop of York in July 1823 and a sentence of consecration was obtained in August 1824.

<sup>19</sup> This was not as large an increase since the early eighteenth century as it may seem. The population had increased and the wars with France brought serious inflation.

<sup>20</sup> Bfd Cath., Bradford Churchwardens' Accounts, 1813-1914.

<sup>21</sup> Bfd. Cath., '1828 Request for Opinion by Counsel' is the basis for what follows.

<sup>22</sup> *Leeds Mercury* (LM), 24 May 1828.



but they advised, as in 1812, that retrospective rates to clear debts were illegal. So unpopular had church rate become that the Bradford churchwardens persuaded the assistant poor law overseer for Haworth to collect it at the same time as the poor rate.<sup>23</sup>

Down to 1834, therefore, the arguments over church rate in Haworth were not really the Church of England against the Dissenters. Attempts to maintain the status quo received little support among Haworth Anglicans, never mind Haworth Dissenters. What led to divisions within the chapelry was the failure to find a solution to the problem at national level.

The granting of Catholic Emancipation exposed the anomalous position of the Protestant Church of Ireland which had a hierarchy similar to the Church of England but few adherents in a country which was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in sympathy. In 1833 Earl Grey's Whig government introduced a bill which, among other things, removed the burden of church rate from Roman Catholics in Ireland. The measure immediately provoked a demand from English Dissenters for a similar concession. The move was opposed by the Church of England on the grounds that it was the national church, approved and supported by the state, and therefore ought to be financed by the entire population whether they used its facilities or not, the same sort of argument we use today to justify taxing everyone for services such as health and education. The concept was supported by moderate Dissenters like the Methodists who, particularly in places like Haworth, still retained pews in the local church. The problem was that church rate was a tax which was collected locally and was therefore highly visible, could vary wildly at the whim of the local clergyman and was perceived to be grossly unfair in its operation. A search began for an alternative which enshrined the principle of what was termed 'nationality' but which was more acceptable to the public.<sup>24</sup>

In April 1834 Lord Althorp, the leader of the House of Commons, introduced a measure which, had it passed into law, would have abolished church rate altogether and would have transferred the cost of church repairs and services to the consolidated fund. The bill secured a majority of 260 to 140, and there is little doubt that it would have passed the House of Lords as well because even the most intransigent Anglicans were in favour. Unfortunately an analysis of the division showed that practically all of those who voted against were the government's own supporters. The bill was not popular among Dissenters. It simply substituted a national tax for a local one. The bill's progress was delayed, allegedly until a commission investigating ecclesiastical finances reported, and was then overtaken by events. The Whigs, now under Lord Melbourne, temporarily lost power and were replaced by a minority Conservative government under Sir Robert Peel.

Despite the distaste of the Dissenters for a 'national' tax, the probabilities are that if Althorp's bill had become law the agitation would have died down. A national tax would have ironed out the anomalies of which Anglicans complained and which were so damaging to its cause within the parish of Bradford. The result of the procrastination was to destroy the position of moderate Dissenters and transfer the leadership of the opposition to church rates to those, like the Particular Baptists, who were advocates of 'voluntaryism' — i.e. that the parish church should be supported by voluntary subscriptions, not a universal church rate.

Between 1834 and 1836 the position steadily deteriorated. In 1834 the Bradford church rate went through without too much trouble though it must be admitted that at £135

<sup>23</sup>. WYAS, Bradford, Haworth Poor Relief Accounts 1819–34, 33D80/5/2.

<sup>24</sup>. The description of events at national level is drawn from Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, 1, pp. 146–58 and Richard Brett, 'The Whigs and Protestant Dissent in the Decade of Reform: the case of Church Rates 1833–41', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), pp. 887–910.



8s. 6d. in total (Haworth *c.* £25) it was the smallest for many years because the £200 needed for repairs was raised by a voluntary subscription.<sup>25</sup> Haworth also laid a local rate without too much difficulty.

By the summer of 1835, however, the opposition was fully organised. Large numbers of Dissenters turned up to the annual Bradford vestry meeting. Again Heap proposed a rate of £135 to cover the expense of church services. Repairs required £1853 10s. 0d.,<sup>26</sup> but the cost had been defrayed again by a voluntary subscription and he hoped that parliament would make some proper provision for such expenses in the near future. This time the meeting was not impressed by his moderation and voted to postpone setting a rate for twelve months. As rates could not be set retrospectively this was in effect a rate refusal.

A similar thing happened at the Haworth vestry meeting. When the expenses for the last twelve months were considered, the Haworth chapelwardens were congratulated on the way they had kept expenditure within the previous year's grant. One of them, George Taylor, suggested that the £10 surplus should be put towards the present year's expenses and that the wardens should then draw on the assistant poor law overseer when more was required, as had been the practice with Bradford church rate over the last six years. The use of the £10 was approved but resort to the overseer was greeted with hostility by James Greenwood of the Hall Green Baptists, owner of Bridgehouse textile mill, who thought the proposal 'highly reprehensible and doubly unjust'. William Thomas then proposed a halfpenny in the pound church rate. Greenwood was soon on his feet with a counter suggestion. All the churches and chapels were in good repair except the Ranter chapel (Primitive Methodist). He canvassed the idea of a rate to repair that building. The meeting decided, however, that it would be more appropriate for each denomination to finance its own buildings, which was undoubtedly what Greenwood was angling for. If the dissenting chapels were expected to finance themselves he did not see why the Church of England should not do so too and he moved that the laying of a rate be postponed for twelve months. He was seconded by Robert Pickles, a Wesleyan Methodist, and the motion was agreed by a large majority with much hearty cheering.<sup>27</sup> As a result the churchwardens had to resort to a voluntary subscription.

What happened in 1835 was repeated in 1836 both at Bradford and at Haworth. Motions were made for the postponement of the consideration of a rate for twelve months with only minimum protests from the Anglicans.<sup>28</sup> They posed a tricky problem for Patrick Brontë, who had been Haworth's perpetual curate since 1820. His letter to the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* shows that in the Haworth case the manoeuvre had his tacit consent.

This does not mean that Brontë was opposed to the principle of 'nationality'. Far from it. His letter showed him to be firmly convinced that all the ratepayers should contribute towards the support of the established church. He claimed that even those who did not attend benefited from it in a number of ways. Everyone was entitled to be buried in the graveyard if they wished it, the clock told the time to all the inhabitants and the bells pealed out on secular occasions as well as religious ones. Public notices were given out

<sup>25</sup> *LM*, 19 July 1834.

<sup>26</sup> *Halifax Guardian (HG)*, 11 July 1835. If these had been put on church rate Haworth would have had to pay nearly £400!

<sup>27</sup> *Bradford Observer (BO)*, 24 Sept. 1835; *HG*, 26 Sept. 1835. The account describes both Thomas and Greenwood, wrongly, as Methodist 'friends.' A view of the whole controversy which portrays it as just Anglicans v Dissenters can be found in Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London, 1994), pp. 240, 257-59, 267, 297, 317, 329, 355-57, 375-76, 396-97 and 428.

<sup>28</sup> *LM*, 1 Oct. 1836.



in church, and it was used for functions such as concerts which all were entitled to attend. Many Dissenters held the freehold of pews in the church which they rented out profitably to others, and the valuation of all the lands in the chapelry took into account that the purchasers would be expected to pay church rates. What he did accept was that church rates were unfair in their incidence and caused dissension within the chapelry. He would have liked church rate to be commuted in return for a rent charge, along the same lines as the Tithe Commutation Act which was going through parliament during the 1836 session.<sup>29</sup> He recognised that the position was a difficult one and he was prepared to cover the church's expenses by a subscription again until it was known what parliament would do. His attitude was warmly commended by the Dissenters, many of whom contributed voluntarily to the expenses of Haworth church as a result.<sup>30</sup>

What parliament would do about the question of church rate was now of pressing importance. Sir Robert Peel's minority government staggered on into 1835, but he was in an impossible position and the Whigs, led by Melbourne, were soon restored to office. Melbourne put off considering church rate as long as he could, hoping that bills on tithe commutation and the civil registration of births, deaths and marriages would satisfy his Dissenting supporters without angering his Anglican ones but this further delay only made the position worse.

Already in the autumn of 1836 tempers were rising. Brontë had been finding the burden of running Haworth alone too onerous and he had succeeded in persuading the Pastoral Aid Society to provide money for a curate. Ideally he would have liked one who reflected his own ideas. Brontë was an Arminian, like the Wesley brothers, and he was hostile to the Calvinistic doctrines of personal election and reprobation. Unfortunately most Anglican evangelicals were Calvinists and so the Bishop of Ripon sent him a succession of high church curates imbued with the tenets of the Oxford Movement and eager for a tilt at the Dissenters. The first of these was William Hodgson, who quickly plunged into the fray on a whole range of issues, both theological and financial, in which he was enthusiastically supported by Patrick Brontë's son, Branwell.

They soon had something to declaim against. A meeting was held in the Hall Green chapel in March 1837 which approved an anti-church rate petition by an overwhelming majority.<sup>31</sup> Patrick and Branwell Brontë and William Hodgson attended but they remained silent because Haworth Anglicans stayed away. Instead they reserved their fire for the pulpit of the parish church. In the absence of any other acceptable solution, even Patrick seems to have taken to inveighing against all those who were opposed to church rate. The *Bradford Observer* described how:

On the last Sabbath morning one of them commenced a fierce attack upon all Dissenters; and in the afternoon both of those meek spirited clergymen let loose a whole volley of abuse in a double lecture in the church to the great consternation of the congregation. It is feared they are both in a rabid state; some say they believe that if anyone challenged the old gentleman that he would have fought, for he declared that he cared for no man or woman, and made great professions of valour. And the young potato eater is really boiling with rage and offering the most frightful menaces to the whole race of dissenters.<sup>32</sup>

A counter-petition was organised but was not heard of again. The vicar of Bradford, Henry Heap, did not make his annual visit to Haworth on Easter Monday, when he

<sup>29</sup>. *LM*, 5 Nov. 1836, letter from P. Brontë; this was what he referred to as Lord Althorp's scheme, not the earlier bill.

<sup>30</sup>. *LM*, 15 Dec. 1836, letter from Z.

<sup>31</sup>. *BO*, 2 March 1837.

<sup>32</sup>. *BO*, 9 March 1837.



usually preached and then collected his Easter dues. He pleaded ill health, which may well have been genuine (he was ill for most of the time prior to his death in 1839), but the turmoil over church rates and the new poor law may well have played a part too. Heap had vivid memories of what had happened during the arguments over Brontë's appointment in 1819.

The anti-church rate petition on the other hand was carried down to a big meeting in Bradford where the Haworth Baptists turned out in force. Moses Saunders and John Winterbotham, the ministers of the Hall Green and West Lane Baptist chapels, together with James Greenwood, the owner of Bridgehouse Mill in Haworth, and William Greenwood, a millowner of Old Oxenhope, both Baptists, all spoke. Winterbotham dwelt with relish on the revelation that over £2000 had been extorted from Haworth in not much more than twenty years, something that Haworth Anglicans resented almost as much as their opponents. Over 20,000 signed a petition opposing the plan to put church maintenance on the consolidated fund.<sup>33</sup> So many similar petitions were flooding in from the big city conurbations that proceeding with Althorp's original plan became a political impossibility.

By this time Althorp had been replaced as leader of the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. He now took up a suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, Spring Rice. The inquiry into ecclesiastical finances had shown that church lands were let on terms which were not advantageous to it. He believed that a revision of the leases, to make them reflect their current market value, would yield extra profits which would be large enough to replace church rate entirely. Russell's plan made an immediate appeal to the Dissenters because no extra taxation would be involved. This time it was the Anglicans who were not keen. There was little element of 'nationality' in the chancellor's plan. They claimed that his figures were wrong. Church rate was estimated to yield £560,000. According to their calculations only £250,000 could be raised from the re-leasing, and they complained that what he proposed amounted to 'expropriating' the Church of England.<sup>34</sup> Yet they had to admit that if he were right the re-leasing would solve the question of church maintenance at no extra cost to themselves. Whether a measure on these lines would have passed the House of Lords must be a little doubtful, but it was never to be tested because at the crucial moment William IV died to be replaced by Queen Victoria.

The death of the monarch automatically dissolved parliament and a general election was held. The Whigs emerged once more as the largest single party but with a much reduced majority. A post mortem revealed that an important element in their unpopularity was their perceived hostility to church rate. Most of their losses were in country districts where the anti-church rate campaign had made a very bad impression. A large majority of the ratepayers were Anglicans, and in many parishes there were bequests which made a rate unnecessary. Church rate abolition dropped to the bottom of the government's agenda, and each parish was left to find its own solution.

The first result for the people of Haworth was that there could now be no question of a local rate for the maintenance and repair of Haworth church until the political climate changed. The Dissenters would not support one, and there was no legal way in which it could be enforced. Brontë was therefore compelled to resort to a voluntary subscription as a regular thing and not just as a temporary measure. From this point on, practically all the arguments centred on Bradford church rate.

The result of the general election, which showed a swing to the Conservatives, reinvig-

<sup>33</sup>. *BO*, 13 April 1837.

<sup>34</sup>. *HG*, 3 April 1838.



orated the Anglican cause and the established church was also encouraged by the result of a legal case. At Braintree in Essex a vigorous campaign was waged against church rate by the local Dissenters led by Samuel Courtauld. When the annual vestry meeting came round there was a large majority in favour of postponing the setting of a rate for twelve months. After the meeting was over the churchwardens, on their own authority, proceeded to set a rate of two shillings in the pound. When a Mr Burder refused to pay his church rate of £41 6s. *od.* he was taken before the consistory court of London, where the chancellor, Dr Lushington, held that a postponement was in effect a refusal to set a valid rate and ruled this to be illegal. The church had to be repaired and its services maintained.<sup>35</sup>

Emboldened by this, the Bradford churchwardens decided to try again. When the usual postponement was carried they proceeded to lay a rate which caused a furious dispute in Haworth. When the local vestry meeting was told that postponing a rate was illegal, a poll was demanded which voted it down by 297 votes to 200. As a test case one of the Bradford churchwardens, George Turner, took James Greenwood of Bridgehouse Mill, who was constable at the time, before the magistrates for refusal to pay his church rate. The magistrates debated whether the question was one of enforcing the collection of the rate or of questioning the validity of the rate itself. After a short discussion they decided that it was really about the validity of the rate, which they did not have the authority to determine, and the case was dismissed.<sup>36</sup> So for the fourth year in a row Bradford parish church had to resort to donations.

Another attempt to lay a rate was made in November 1838. Over 600 turned up to the meeting. The chairman refused to accept a motion to postpone the laying of the church rate, but when a rate was proposed it was rejected on a show of hands. The *Bradford Observer* reckoned that two-thirds of those present were against.<sup>37</sup> The motion to adjourn was then carried, but after the meeting the churchwardens and their supporters, relying on the Braintree precedent, proceeded to lay a rate on their own authority.<sup>38</sup> The churchwardens' accounts show that the amount was £438 13s. *od.* of which Haworth's share was £87 14s. 7d.<sup>39</sup>

During 1839 the vicar of Bradford, Henry Heap, died and was succeeded by Revd William Scoresby. The replacement of a sick man by one who was hale, knew his own mind and was determined to carry the fight to the opposition, had the effect of sharpening the controversy further. The attendance at the vestry meeting on 22 November was so large that it was forced to move into the churchyard. One of the churchwardens, George Popplewell, estimated total expenses of £443 6s. *od.*, of which £119 was for the flagging of the churchyard and £88 8s. 5d. was assessed on Haworth.<sup>40</sup> Popplewell, seconded by William Walker, then moved that a rate be laid. John Winterbotham, the Baptist minister, got up and made a speech denouncing church rate, and a Mr Anderton moved that the meeting be adjourned for twelve months. Scoresby, who was in the chair, refused to accept the amendment saying that he was expressly forbidden to do so by the Archdeacon. The vicar then vacated the chair so that Anderton could put the amendment, which was carried by a large majority. Scoresby still insisted on putting the original motion, which was lost by a considerable margin. At this point Joshua Pollard demanded a poll to test whether the meeting was representative of the general feeling among the ratepayers. The

<sup>35</sup>. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, 1, p. 155.

<sup>36</sup>. *LM*, 28 July 1838.

<sup>37</sup>. *BO*, 29 Nov. 1838.

<sup>38</sup>. *HG*, 1 Dec. 1838.

<sup>39</sup>. Bfd Cath., Churchwardens' Accounts, 1813–1914.

<sup>40</sup>. Bfd Cath., Churchwardens' Accounts, 1813–1914.



poll showed 988 for the rate and 3192 against.<sup>41</sup> Despite this large hostile majority Scoresby held as in the previous year that, as a rate could not legally be refused, he was entitled to collect it and collect it he did.<sup>42</sup>

Encouraged by Bradford's success, a last attempt was made to reinstate Haworth's own church rate. The curates, as usual, led the way. Hodgson had departed and the cudgels were taken up by the current curate, William Weightman, supported by Keighley's curate, John Collins. Charlotte Brontë wrote to Ellen Nussey:

Little Haworth has been all in a bustle about church rates since you were here — we had a stormy meeting in the School-room — Papa took the chair and Mr. Collins and Mr. Weightman acted as his supporters one on each side — There was violent opposition — which set Mr. Collins' Irish blood in a ferment and if Papa had not kept him quiet partly by persuasion and partly by compulsion he would have given the Dissenters their Kail through the reek. (a Scotch proverb which I'll explain another time).<sup>43</sup>

Brontë knew that there was a large majority against a church rate and that it had no legal standing. His restraint paid off. After a heated debate lasting over three hours a rate was rejected but a voluntary subscription of £21 to cover the church's expenses was approved.<sup>44</sup>

Courtauld and his friends did not take their defeat at Braintree lying down. The case was appealed from the consistory court to Queen's Bench by a 'mandamus'. Lord Denman's judgement, delivered in May 1840, had nothing to say about whether churchwardens could lay a rate on their own authority or whether adjourning a vestry meeting for twelve months was effectively a rate refusal, but his ruling provided a loophole for the Dissenters. He held that there was no statute at common law which could compel anyone to pay church rate and that the common law courts could issue a prohibition on an action taken by an inferior court. In other words he took away the power of the consistory court to enforce its decrees.<sup>45</sup>

The new situation soon made itself felt. The Bradford churchwardens delayed consideration of a new church rate until January 1841, when a subscription was proposed and rejected only because it was thought that it would prove insufficient.<sup>46</sup> The vestry meeting was finally held a fortnight later with Scoresby in the chair. Once more the vestry was too small to hold all those who attended. Scoresby refused a suggestion to move into the nave and they had to adjourn to the churchyard again despite there being 6 to 9 inches of snow. George Popplewell, one of the churchwardens, moved for a rate of £316 12s. 4d. of which £118 13s. 2d. was for the churchyard wall. This was seconded by George Pollard, the other warden. Winterbotham, the minister of West Lane Baptist chapel, led the opposition as usual. He drew attention to the Braintree decision in Queen's Bench, which he thought showed that church rate was not the law of the land. He also claimed that Denman had said that the churchwardens were not liable if the funds were insufficient. He recommended the appointment of a liberal churchwarden to prevent the making of an unfair rate, as they had done at Haworth. 'We have selected a noble minded liberal Methodist to act for the township and there is peace and goodwill. The expenses of the church are defrayed by subscription and feuds and animosities have ceased to

<sup>41</sup>. *Leeds Intelligencer* (LI), 23 Nov. 1839; *BO*, 28 Nov. 1839.

<sup>42</sup>. Bfd. Cath., Churchwardens' Accounts, 1813-1914.

<sup>43</sup>. Juliet Barker, *The Brontës: A Life in Letters* (London, 1997), p. 75.

<sup>44</sup>. *BO*, 2 April 1840.

<sup>45</sup>. Case reported in *BO*, 7 May 1840.

<sup>46</sup>. *LI*, 28 Jan. 1841.



exist.<sup>47</sup> Again the proposal to adjourn consideration of the rate for twelve months was rejected by the vicar, and again the rate was defeated by a large majority.

Scoresby was naturally unwilling to resort to a poll after his resounding defeat the previous year. This time he called the consistory court at York to his assistance. The proceedings took time, but eventually, in May 1841, the court issued a monition compelling the churchwardens to call a meeting to lay a church rate.<sup>48</sup> The vestry meeting was attended by 3000 people. Again the rate, now up to £382 4s. 2d. because of the delay, was proposed, and again the opposition was led by Winterbotham, supported this time by George Hanson of Wilsden. Winterbotham's suggestion of a subscription was turned down by Scoresby, who claimed that he was bound by the monition. When a vote was taken an estimated 500 were for the rate and 2500 against. The meeting ended in deliberate and contrived uproar to prevent the laying of a rate.<sup>49</sup>

Patrick Brontë watched the developing situation with growing exasperation. His letter to the editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer* in March shows him to be as strongly in support of the principle of 'nationality' as ever and contemptuous of what he termed the 'catgut consciences' of Dissenters, but Braintree was taking its toll. By this time the case had been appealed again and parts of Denman's ruling overturned, giving the advantage to the Church of England once more, but Brontë anticipated that this would not be the end and that no churchwarden would lay a rate if he thought that he would be involved in litigation, even if it was eventually successful. He pleaded for an act of parliament which would put church rate on a clear legal footing, ending the annual collisions between clergy and ratepayers, but he feared that it would never happen.<sup>50</sup> By May the decision to force the issue through a monition hardened his attitude against church rate in its current form. After advocating the system of compounding again, he told the readers of the *Bradford Observer* that he thought church rate should only apply to the church within the ratepayers' own district, a view which would not have made him very popular in Bradford.<sup>51</sup>

When a vestry meeting was called at Haworth to consider the payment of church rate for the current year to Bradford, Brontë refused to recommend it. He told the packed room that they were not met to consider a regular church rate but one imposed by the wardens of the parish church of Bradford on the authority of a monition from the consistory court of the Archdeacon of York, so he proposed to be entirely impartial, which was the nearest he could come to disobeying a court of his own church without incurring censure. He asked Mr J. Pickles, the people's warden, to move for a rate. Mr Pickles refused, saying that he had not been informed that the other warden would be absent and he would not proceed without him. Attempts to get someone else to move for a rate met with silence from churchmen and Dissenters alike. Eventually John Brown, the sexton, and John Dean, the constable, were persuaded that it was their duty to propose the rate. Winterbotham then spoke at length and moved its rejection. The rate was voted down by an overwhelming majority, only Brown and Dean being in favour.<sup>52</sup>

In Bradford itself the issue dragged on with Dissenters flatly refusing to pay. In the latest twist in the Braintree saga, Lord Chief Justice Tindall had ruled that churchwardens could not be held responsible for any shortages in the collection of church rate, but that

<sup>47</sup>. *BO*, 11 Feb. 1841

<sup>48</sup>. *BO*, 6 & 13 May 1841; *HG*, 15 May 1841.

<sup>49</sup>. *BO*, 20 May 1841; *LI*, 15 May 1841 gives the approximate voting figures.

<sup>50</sup>. *LI*, 13 March 1841.

<sup>51</sup>. *BO*, 13 May 1841.

<sup>52</sup>. *BO*, 1 July 1841. The paper calls the people's warden Mr J. Pickles but this is probably a reporting error and the Robert Pickles mentioned earlier was the man involved.



individual ratepayers could be sued. Did this apply to chapelwardens? Were they on the same plane as the Bradford churchwardens or were they 'individual' ratepayers? Bradford tried to sue the chapelwardens of Wilsden for not collecting their £13 but failed on a technicality. The rates from Allerton-cum-Wilsden were traditionally collected together, but the monition had been directed only against Wilsden because Allerton had paid up. But what about Haworth? Haworth was not joined with anyone.

A meeting was held in Haworth in January 1842 to consider the renewed demand for a rate from Bradford. This time Brontë made his views very plain. He refused to accept as constitutional a rate which a minority was imposing on the majority and he declared that he would never again demand a compulsory church rate either for Bradford or for Haworth so long as the law stood as it did. A motion was made for a rate of three pence in the pound by Enoch Thomas and seconded by Robert Taylor, but a proposal by Winterbotham, seconded by Robert Pickles, to postpone further consideration until 4 March was carried by a large majority. The vestry then adopted a resolution to defray the costs of the Haworth chapelwardens, Enoch Thomas and Robert Taylor, in any legal action the Bradford churchwardens might take against them for the refusal to grant a rate.<sup>53</sup> Bradford did proceed against Thomas and Taylor, on the grounds that they had refused either to assess or collect their due proportion, because they questioned the legality of the rate. For a second time Bradford lost, and as far as Haworth was concerned the defeat was final. If the chapelwardens could not be compelled to assess the ratepayers, how were the Bradford churchwardens to sue individuals for non-payment?<sup>54</sup>

The end was not long delayed in Bradford either. Here the position was clear and the churchwardens proceeded to sue the defaulters. The result was chaos, with large numbers of Dissenters refusing to pay. When they were brought before the magistrates they were ordered to pay and charged the costs of the action. They still refused and their goods were distrained, but when the distrained property was put up for sale no one would bid for it, and the church was no better off. John Dale, a dissenting bookseller, appealed against his 1s. 5d. assessment on the grounds that it was illegal. The case was heard before Lord Denman who, predictably, found for Dale, though the reasons seem to have been technical ones again. At that Scoresby and the Bradford churchwardens admitted defeat. The pill was sweetened somewhat by the discovery that their fear that a voluntary subscription would not cover their expenses was groundless. There was a lot of money being made in Bradford, and rich Anglicans were getting their share. They could well afford to support the parish church.

The Haworth case shows that in many places church rate disputes did not begin in 1834 and they did not take the form exclusively of Anglicans versus Dissenters. In the big northern parishes church rate was often a bone of contention between the chapelries and the mother church. In his *History of Bradford*, issued in 1841, John James examined a number of the rows between Haworth and Bradford, which erupted periodically from 1679 to 1810, and concluded that in every case Haworth had considerable justification for its obstructive behaviour. Quite apart from the fact that the people of Haworth were being compelled to support two different churches, the rental value of the chapelry was only an eighth that of the whole parish even in 1660, and the disproportion grew as time went by. On top of these disputes came the question of the provision and maintenance of burial grounds, which led to sharp rises in church rates, an issue which cannot have been confined to Bradford. By 1828 the whole parish was seething with discontent.

The course of events after 1834 demonstrates how the inability of the government to

<sup>53</sup>. *BO*, 13 Jan. 1842.

<sup>54</sup>. *LI & LM*, 18 June 1842; *BO*, 16 & 30 June 1842.



come to grips with the issue created ill feeling at local level. The Whigs seemed unable to make up their minds, and the Conservatives were totally oblivious to the weaknesses of the system. This near-paralysis at the top led to the battle being fought out in the courts and allowed the initiative to pass from moderate Dissenters to radicals like the Baptists. This shift is particularly apparent in Haworth. The limelight was stolen by Brontë on the one side and Winterbotham on the other. Both represented minorities. The denomination that commanded the largest number of supporters was the Wesleyan Methodists.

Today the idea that everyone should help finance the Church of England as the 'established' church is foreign to our way of thinking. In the early nineteenth century the concept was widely accepted, so the failure of the Whigs to stand up to the anti-church rate agitation helped to reduce their majority in 1837 and contributed to their defeat at the polls in 1841. Support for the principle of 'nationality' was widespread among Haworth Wesleyan Methodists, who had a good deal of sympathy for Brontë and who accepted the validity of many of the points which he made in his letter of November 1836 to the *Leeds Mercury*. They would have been quite willing to accept a church rate provided it was for the church in Haworth, not Bradford, and that it was for 'normal' repairs and the maintenance of church services. Many Dissenters contributed to the upkeep of Haworth church in the years after the final rejection of a local rate. There could be little doubt that they would also have supported voluntary subscriptions for larger objectives where they considered that the expense was justified. With the Anglicans and the Wesleyan Methodists united the Baptists would have been powerless. As it was, the intransigence of Bradford backed up by the church authorities forced all the Dissenters into the arms of the Baptists and sealed the fate of church rate in any form and with it the principle of 'nationality.'

The final period of the conflict coincided with the substitution of power looms for hand looms in the worsted textile industry, a change which caused more dislocation in Haworth than anywhere else in the parish of Bradford. The years 1840 to 1842 were particularly difficult, and the bad impression created by the determination of the vicar of Bradford to 'have his pound of flesh' contributed to Patrick Brontë's final disillusionment with the whole system, as he openly told the 1842 vestry meeting. John Winterbotham had good reason to appreciate what was happening. Baptist pastors like him depended on part-time work to supplement what their congregations could give them. There was no work, and most of his congregation could not keep themselves, never mind him, so he and his family were forced, like many others in the 'Hungry Forties', to emigrate to Canada.

The Braintree case went on and on, benefiting no one but the lawyers. Perhaps it was not quite as bad as Jarndyce and Jarndyce in Dickens's *Bleak House*, but there were fourteen different hearings in eight different courts over a period of seventeen years until in 1855 it was decided that a minority of the vestry could not force a rate on the majority.<sup>55</sup> The consequence was that church rate had ceased to be collected in most of the big towns, as a result of uncertainty about the law and after bad-tempered confrontations, long before the case was concluded. Dissenters in the countryside, where they were a minority, went on paying much longer because church rate was not extinguished altogether until 1868.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup>. *LM*, 24 March 1855; *BO*, 29 March 1855.

<sup>56</sup>. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, I, p. 158.



## EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY CLAY TOBACCO PIPES FROM PONTEFRACT CASTLE

By S. D. White and P. J. Davey

Excavations carried out at Pontefract Castle between 1982 and 1986 produced a total of 3420 clay tobacco pipe fragments. The majority of the pipe fragments date to the early-mid-seventeenth century, being the largest well-sealed assemblage of Civil War pipes anywhere in England (Davey and White 2002). In addition to the important seventeenth-century assemblage from the site, Pontefract Castle has also provided a valuable insight into clay pipe production and use in West Yorkshire over the following two centuries. There is a small, but useful collection of eighteenth-century finds and one of the best nineteenth-century production assemblages from the county.

The small eighteenth-century assemblage may represent nothing more than the deposition of rubbish during the cultivation of the site or by the casual visitor. Only at the beginning of the nineteenth century does the number of pipes deposited at the castle increase. This increase appears to be mainly due to the founding of a number of pipe workshops in and around the castle grounds, rather than the increased number of visitors that the castle saw at this time. From documentary sources nine pipe makers are known to have been working in Pontefract between 1823 and 1908 (Lawrence 1973, Oswald 1975, Van Riel 1990). Of these nine makers, two, Charles Allen and James Allen, were working in Castle Garth between 1847 and 1884, whilst Elizabeth Allen is recorded as working in nearby Beech Hill in 1887. A fourth, H. Fordham, is known to have been working at Castle Chain around 1820. The presence of kiln waste and fragments of kiln furniture from the excavations at the castle confirm that pipe production was being carried out in the immediate vicinity. A block of pipe waste in Pontefract Museum was recovered from a pipe kiln just below the Constable Tower (Fig. 1).

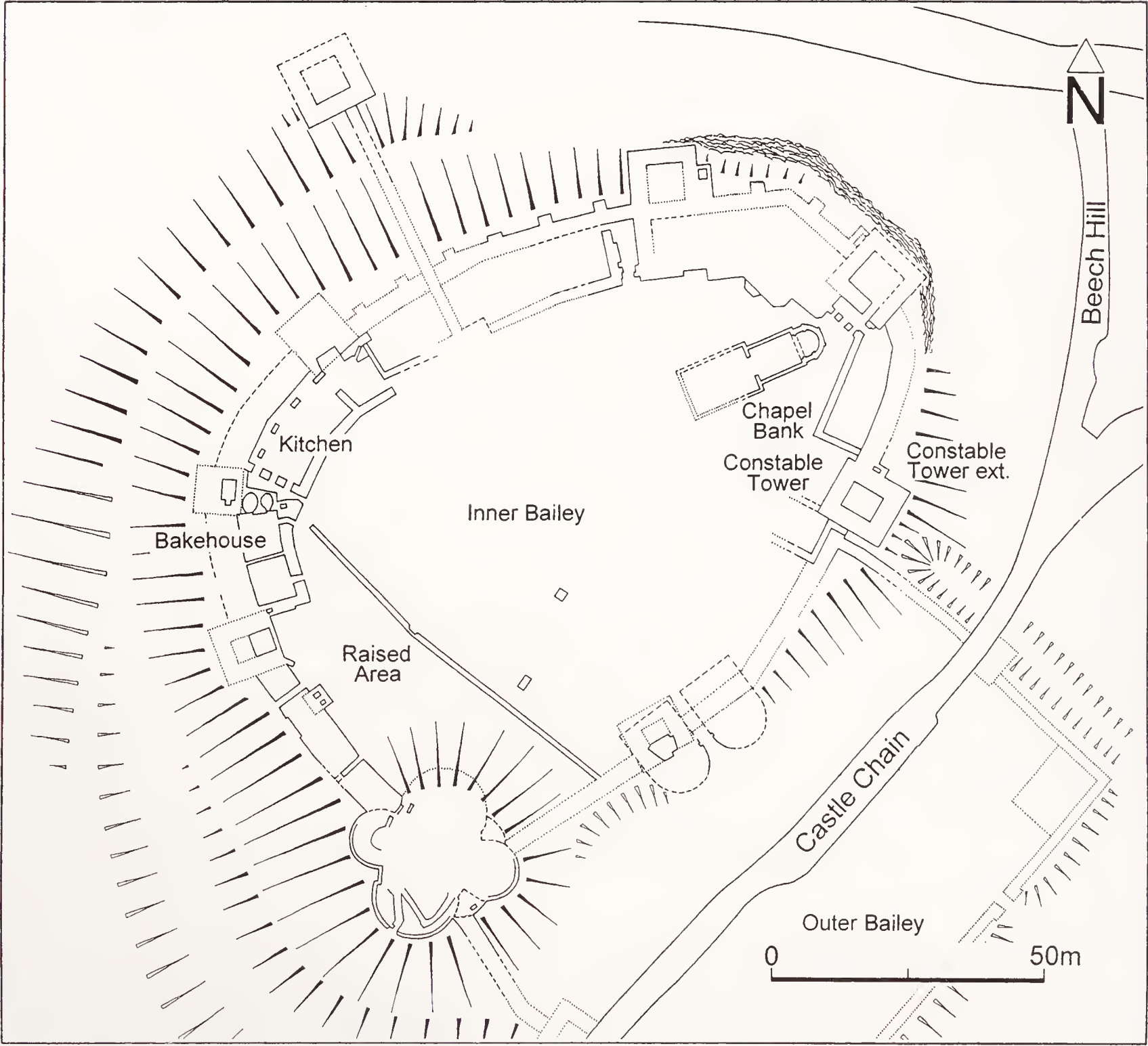
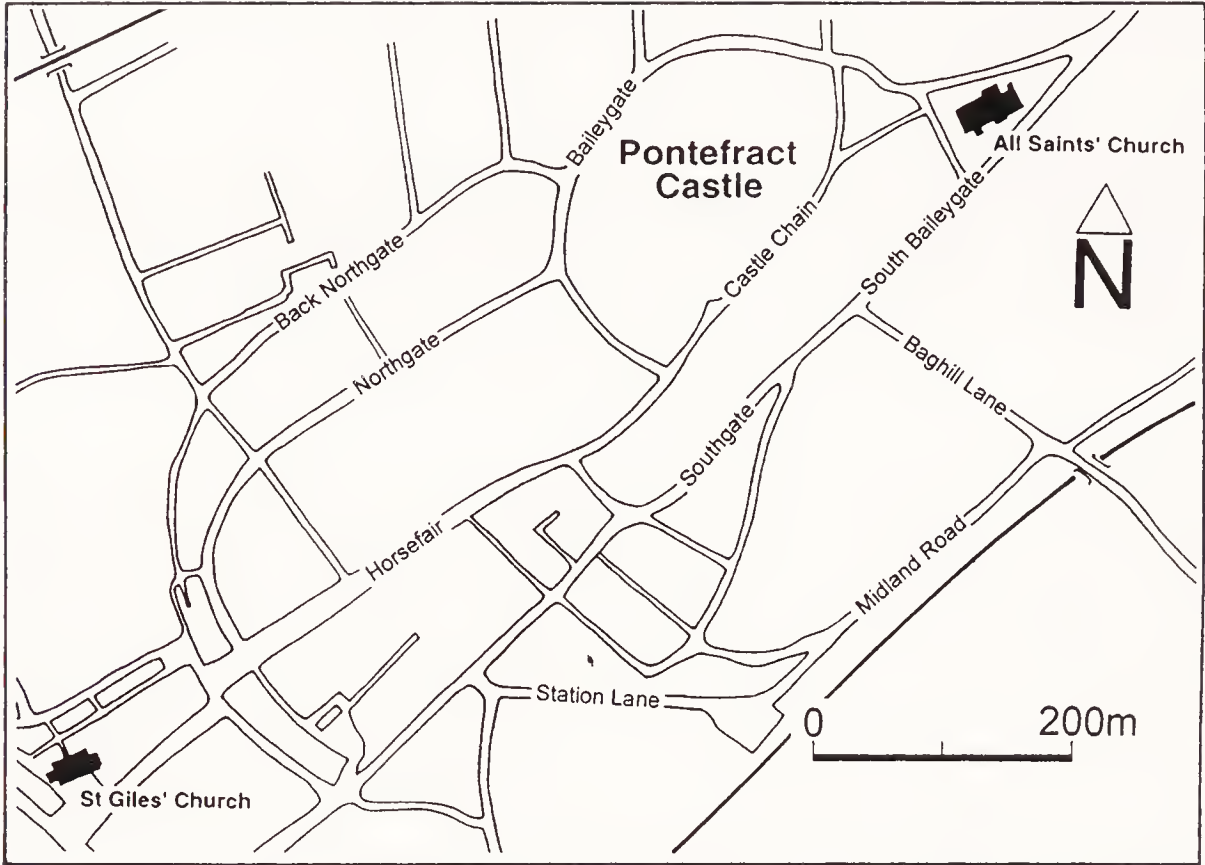
Many of the pipe fragments were recovered from topsoil and landscaping deposits in various parts of the castle. However, the most important and coherent group, from contexts 277 and 278, actually derives from deposits outside the castle's inner ward, at the base of the Constable Tower (Fig. 1). This group comprises 237 fragments of nineteenth-century types dated on the basis of their bowl typology, and through maker-marked pieces, to c.1840–80. Five stem fragments from context 278 are coated with slaggy material suggesting kiln waste of this period. The remaining topsoil groups are much smaller and much more mixed with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pipe fragments and other artefacts, as well as mid-nineteenth-century products similar to those in 277 and 278.

### THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PIPES

#### BOWL FORMS

Of the 766 bowls from Pontefract Castle only thirteen, or less than 2 per cent, date from the eighteenth century. In all but six instances these bowls are so fragmentary that it is extremely difficult to assign a specific form and/or date to them other than to say they are eighteenth-century. Four bowls can be more closely dated to c. 1680–1730. Three







are well burnished with bottered rims and are not milled (Fig. 2, bowls 1–3), whilst the fourth is unburnished with a cut rim (Fig. 2, bowl 4). Bowls 1 and 2 (Fig. 2) are rather forward-leaning forms, a characteristic which is more typical of the seventeenth century, but at the same time are quite thin-walled which suggests the eighteenth century. A date of *c.* 1690–1710 is therefore suggested. Parallels can be seen from Rockley in South Yorkshire which have been dated from 1680–1720 (Higgins 1995, 419).

Example 3 (Fig. 2) illustrates a slightly later bowl form of *c.* 1690–1720. This pipe has a more upright appearance and its rim is nearly parallel to the stem, a characteristic of the first half of the eighteenth century. The bowl is broken at its base but would have probably had a spur rather than a heel; this would be in keeping with an early eighteenth-century date.

The two remaining bowls, which are not illustrated, date from *c.* 1700–80.

## MARKED STEMS

There are ten marked or decorated stems dating from the eighteenth century, which account for 20 per cent of the marked pipes from Pontefract Castle, the details of which appear in Table 1 below. All of the eighteenth-century marks are stem stamps.

### GEOMETRIC STEM STAMPS

Six geometric stem stamps were recovered from the excavations at Pontefract Castle. Geometric stem borders are first seen around the end of the seventeenth century and rapidly spread to a number of centres. In some areas, such as Chester and Nottingham, stem decoration rapidly developed into very distinctive regional styles. The stem decoration from Pontefract is not as elaborate as the Chester or Nottingham types, but falls into three main categories that are discussed below.

#### *Bands*

Two stem fragments with decorative bands were recovered from the excavations (Fig. 2, ex. 5 and ex. 6). The first is part of a decorative band that runs around the stem and appears to be made up of three bands of incised dashes and one of incised parallelograms. The second comprises a single band that spirals down the stem. The impression is very faint but appears to be made up of a series of small flowers or *fleurs de lys* on a hatched background.

#### *Diamonds*

Two examples of stems with impressed diamond patterns were recovered from the excavations (not illustrated). The first of these, 4001 (1441), is rather poorly impressed and comprises a number of smaller diamonds arranged in the shape of a large diamond. The second from context 86 (2395) comprises a band, approximately 10 mm wide, made up of diamonds and small triangles, which runs around the stem.

#### *Midlands-style borders*

Two examples of this type of decoration were recovered from Pontefract. Example 7 (Fig. 2) includes a very elaborate stem twist. This style of stamp comprises a series of

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Fig. 1. The general find locations of the pipe fragments in and around Pontefract Castle.

Note: Castle Chain is annotated in accordance with the O.S. 2nd edition map of 1892. This thoroughfare is now called Castle Garth, with Castle Chain being shown on present mapping as a foreshortened remnant to the south-west of the castle leading to Micklegate.



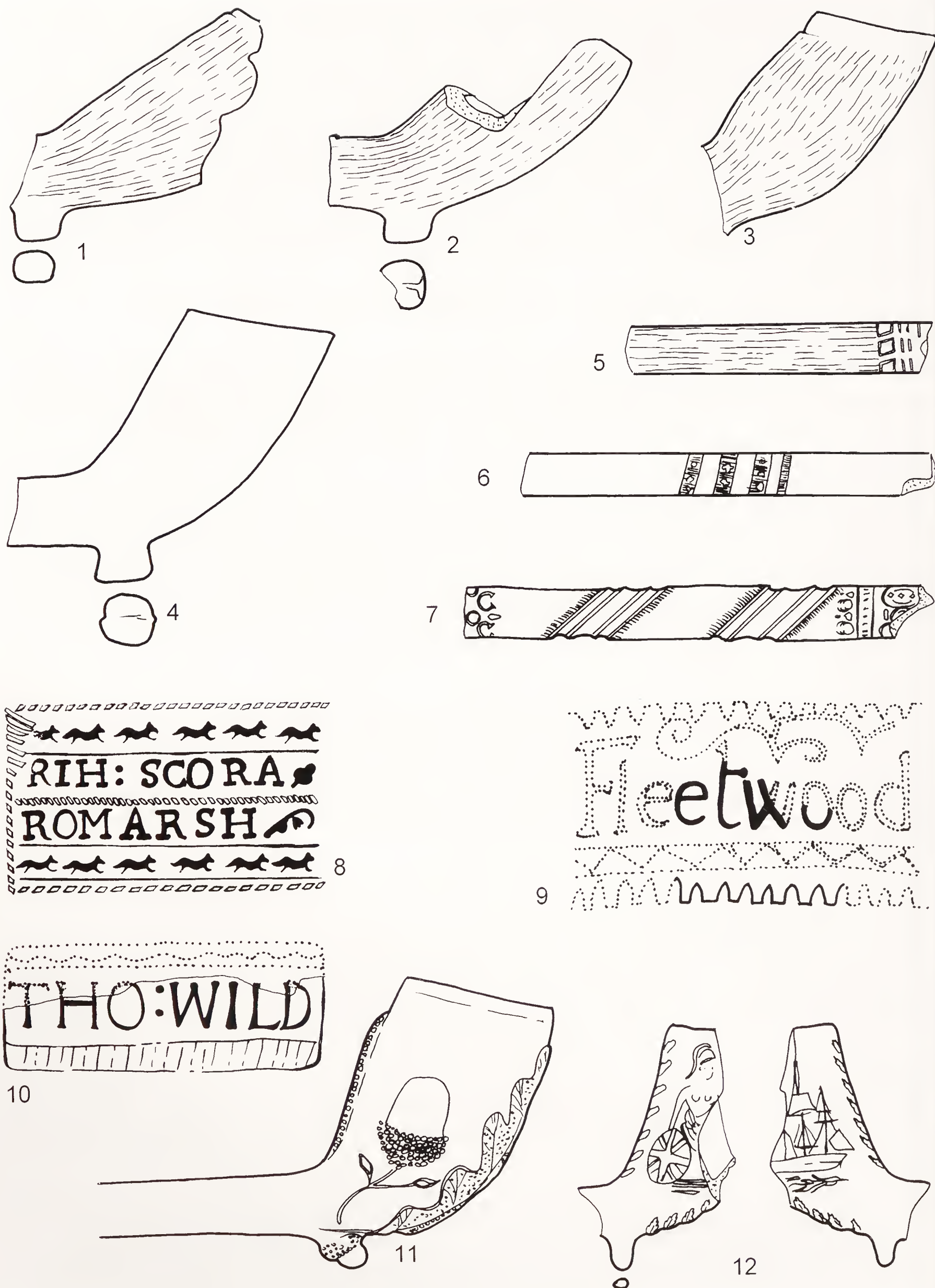


Fig. 2. Examples 1-12. Scale 1:1.



TABLE 1: Details of marked eighteenth-century pipes

Area	Cat	Ctxt	SF No	B	S	Date	Name	Other	Comments
Constable Tower ext.	5	279	2099		I	1700–70		Bands	
Chapel Bank	6	087	674		I	1760–1800		Bands	
Raised Area	7	001			I	1770–1800		Bands and stem twist	Similar examples from Midlands and Beverley
Kitchen		4001	1441		I	1700–60		Diamonds	
Chapel Bank		086	2395		I	1700–60		Diamonds	
Constable Tower		090			I	1760–1800		Midlands style	Similar to borders from the Midlands
Bakehouse		3002	608		I	1760–1800		Midlands style	Similar to borders from the Midlands
U/S	9		603		I	1740–90	...ETWO..		(Fle)etwo(od)
Bakehouse		3001	215		I	1740–60	RIH:SCO	ROMARSH	Richard Scorah of Rawmarsh
Constable Tower	8	037	605		I	1740–60	RIH:SCORA	ROMARSH	Richard Scorah of Rawmarsh
Bakehouse	10	3001	2108		I	1720–40	THO:WILD		Thomas Wild of Rotherham

hatched ovals or circles, interspersed with dots and dashes, and usually bordered with horse-shoe-shaped motifs. Variations of this type of decoration can be found over a very wide area from the north-east of England, through Nottingham, Leicester and into Cambridgeshire. In the Midlands this type of mark seems to be associated with makers' marks of *c.* 1750–80 (Higgins 1985, 293). An example of a substantially complete pipe from Whitby (Whitby Museum, Acc. No. SOH915) has two bands of a similar stem decoration. The bowl of this example is fluted and dates from *c.* 1770–1800.

LETTERED STEM STAMPS

Four stem stamps with lettering were recovered from the excavations at Pontefract Castle. These marks are discussed in detail below.

*..ETWO..*

Example 9 (Fig. 2) is a rather poorly impressed stem stamp which would have read Fleetwood. Seven more complete examples of this mark can be found in the Rayner Collection, from fields near Beverley. Other examples have been found in Yorkshire. It is unclear if Fleetwood refers to a person or a place. No makers with this name are listed.

*RIH:SCORA ROMARSH*

Two examples of a Richard Scorah stem stamp were recovered from the excavations



(e.g. Fig. 2, ex. 8). The mark takes the form of a rectangle in which are the letters RIH:SCORA ROMARSH in two lines. Above and below this lettering there is a row of running animals. Richard Scora is known to have been working in Rawmarsh from *c.* 1748. This example is one of a number of stem stamps which Richard Scora is known to have been using. Examples of four different stem stamps including one similar to the Pontefract example can be found in the Rayner Collection, collected from fields at Beverley. A Richard Scora mark has also been found in Norwich (Atkin 1985).

### *THO:WILD*

One example of a Thomas Wild stem stamp (Fig. 2, ex. 10) was recovered from the excavations. The mark comprises the lettering THO:WILD, above and below which are narrow decorative bands. Five examples of this same mark can be found in the Rayner Collection, from fields near Beverley. This mark can be attributed to one of two makers both working in Rotherham in the eighteenth century (Oswald 1975, 202). Thomas Wild (1) appears in a marriage register in the year 1718. Thomas Wild (2) appears in the Quarter Sessions Registers in 1777.

## THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PIPES

### BOWL FORMS

Of the 766 bowls from Pontefract Castle 209, or 27 per cent, dated from the nineteenth century. A wide range of patterns was represented including bowls in the form of acorns with acorn-shaped spurs; one example with Britannia on one side and a ship on the other; footballers; various designs with roses or flowers; fluted bowls; flutes and swags with makers' initials in some cases; one bowl fragment of a man smoking a pipe; Masonic motifs, sometimes bearing makers' initials; plain bowls both with and without spurs; one example of the Prince of Wales Feathers; a ship and sailor design and one example with a standing figure holding a floral wreath. All the forms listed here are typical nineteenth-century forms, variations of which are found throughout the country. A brief description of each form is given below with a fuller discussion of the ship and sailor design which appears to be a specific and popular local design.

#### *Acorn*

A composite drawing of this bowl form is illustrated (Fig. 2, ex. 11). Twenty fragments of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from context 278. This context includes production waste and a number of other decorated bowls, some of which bear the initials JA for James Allen who was working in Pontefract *c.* 1847–84. The design comprises a large acorn on either side of the bowl with a large oak leaf moulded up the back seam. The spur is modelled in the form of an acorn. Bowls of a similar design have been recovered from a kiln site below the Constable Tower (R. Van Riel, pers. comm.).

#### *Britannia*

One fragment of a bowl with Britannia on one side and a ship on the other (Fig. 2, ex. 12) was recovered from context 1800 dating from *c.* 1830–60. This bowl is quite small and has leaf-decorated seams.

#### *Flowers and Thistles*

Three types of design comprising roses or flowers were recovered from the excavations. Bowl fragment 13 (Fig. 3) has moulded milling and bears the same flowers or thistles design on both sides of the bowl. A second type is represented by twenty-seven fragments,



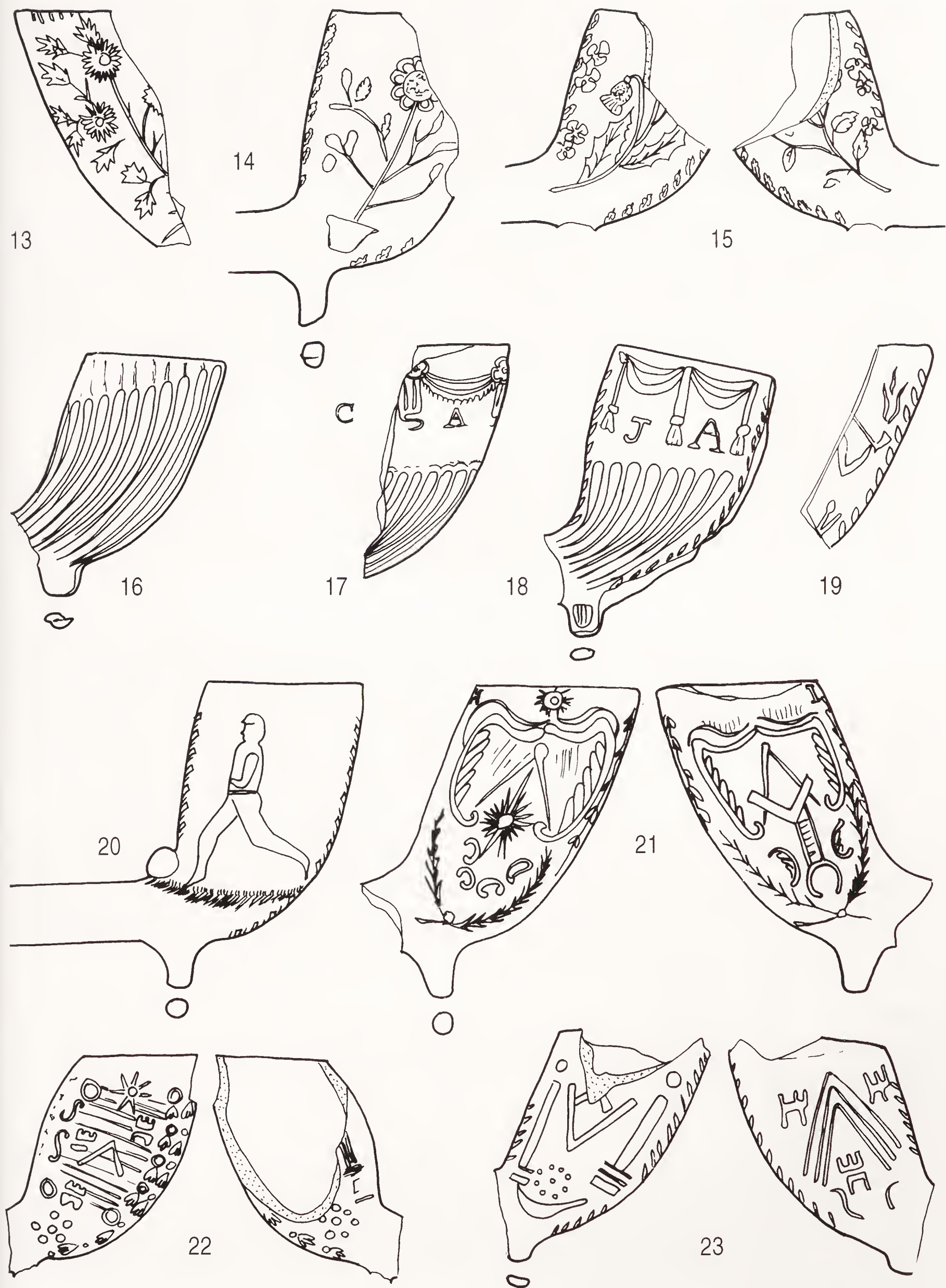


Fig. 3. Examples 13-23. Scale 1:1.



mainly from context 278, which were produced in the same mould. A composite drawing of this bowl form is illustrated in Figure 3, example 14. The bulk of these fragments came from a context which included production waste and a number of other decorated bowls, some of which bear the initials JA for James Allen, who was working in Pontefract *c.* 1847–84. The third bowl form, 15 (Fig. 3), appears to have a thistle on one side and a flower, possibly a rose, on the other. This example has leaf-decorated seams but the front seam also has what appear to be shamrocks between the leaves.

### *Flutes*

Example 16 (Fig. 3) is a bowl with a simple fluted design. The overall appearance of the bowl is rather crude. The two sides of the spur overlap slightly where the two halves of the mould have not come together properly. Also, the flutes are rather fine and, during manufacture, some of the clay has extruded out of the mould to create thin lines of clay from the top of each flute to the rim of the bowl, giving a rather untidy finish to the bowl. This bowl type has been dated, on stylistic grounds, to *c.* 1790–1840.

### *Flutes and Swags*

Three type of flutes and swags design were recovered from Pontefract: they included a plain unmarked variety and those marked with the initials CA and JA, for Charles Allen and James Allen respectively, both of whom were working in Pontefract *c.* 1847–84. The quality of the decoration on the Charles Allen bowls was much finer than on the James Allen bowls, which are rather crude in comparison (Fig. 3, ex. 17 and ex. 18).

### *Man smoking a pipe*

One interesting bowl fragment (Fig. 3, ex. 19) was recovered from context 4001 with part of a design comprising a man smoking a pipe. The fragment shows that the bowl would have had simple leaf-decorated seams. A similar bowl is illustrated by Wilson and Kelly (1987) from Sydney, Australia, although they describe their example as a sailor holding a cutlass.

### *Footballer*

A composite drawing of this bowl form is illustrated in Figure 3, example 20. Twenty-one fragments of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from context 278. This context includes production waste and a number of other decorated bowls, some of which bear the initials JA for James Allen who was working in Pontefract *c.* 1847–84. The design comprises a fairly large bowl with a footballer depicted on either side of the bowl. A football is moulded on the front of the bowl, facing the smoker.

### *Masonic*

Seventeen bowl fragments were recovered from the excavations with a wide range of Masonic motifs as part of their design. A range of these forms is illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, examples 21 to 26.

### *Plain*

There were a small number of plain nineteenth-century bowls recovered from the excavations, all typical of the period. Some were plain spurred forms, others were spurless. Some of the plain bowls had moulded milling and stylised leaf-decorated seams, as for example 27 (Fig. 4), which is a composite drawing made up of a number of fragments from context 278.



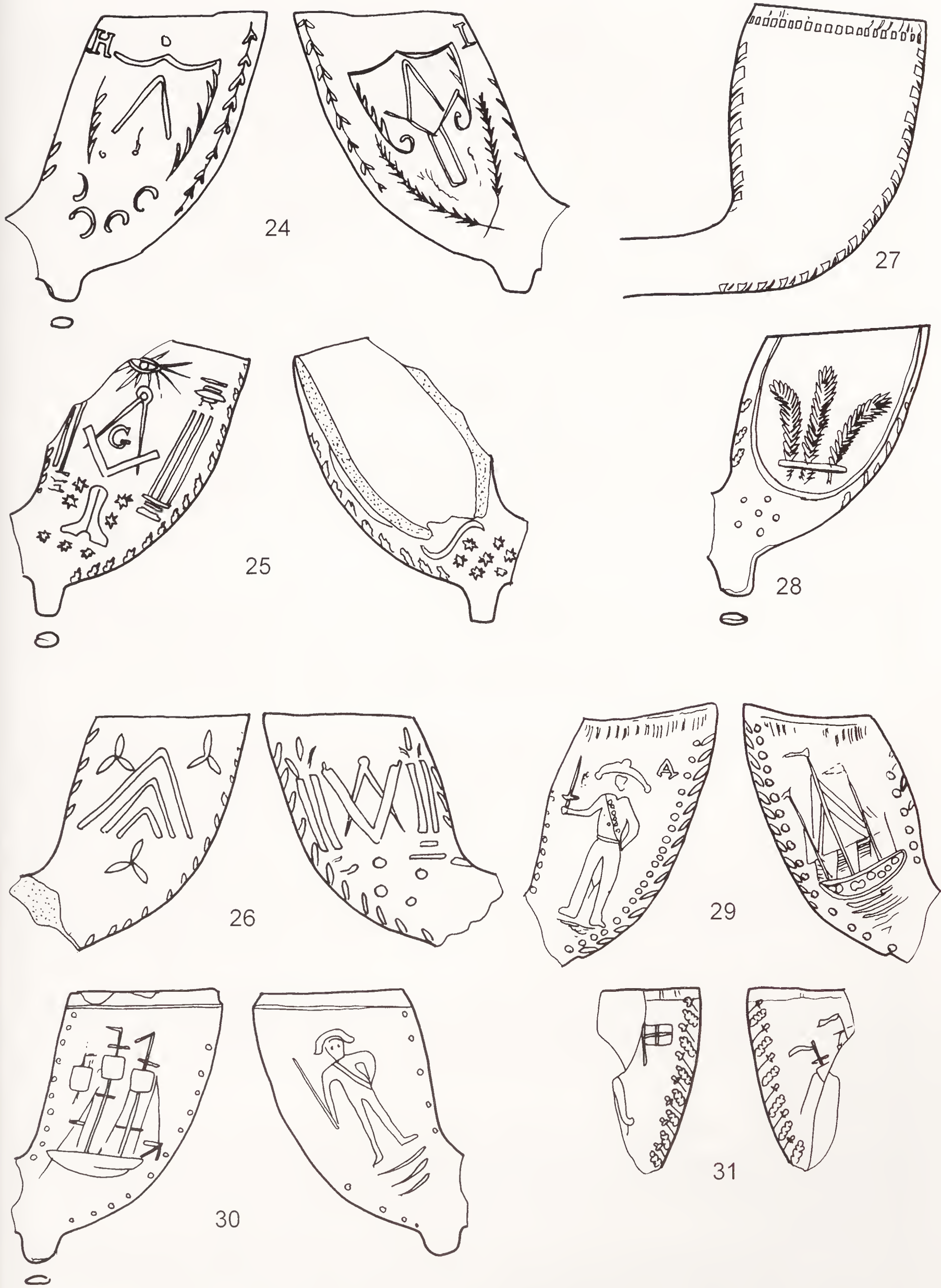


Fig. 4. Examples 24- 31. Scale 1:1.



*Prince of Wales Feathers*

One example (Fig. 4, ex. 28) of a bowl with a Prince of Wales Feathers motif on either side of the bowl, was recovered from context 001 dating from *c.* 1840. The bowl has leaf-decorated seams and a pattern of six dots on the sides of the bowl just above the spur. The feathers are rather simplified and are surrounded by a simple border.

*Ship and Sailor*

Among the most interesting of the mould-decorated bowls from Pontefract is the group of ship and sailor bowls. A composite drawing of one of these (Fig. 4, ex. 29) reveals the initials CA for Charles Allen, who is known to have been working in Pontefract from *c.* 1847 to 1884. Other examples (Figs 4, 5, exs. 30–33) show the range of subtle variations in design. In some examples the sailor is on the smoker's left, on others he is on the smoker's right. Parts of the sailor's costume are more detailed in some of the examples, such as 29 where a sash and buttons on his tunic can clearly be seen. The detail of the sword the sailor is holding in his right hand is also quite variable. In some cases, such as 32, the ship and sailor are accompanied by floral motifs; on another traces of an English flag can be seen (Fig. 4, ex. 31).

In spite of the differences in design, the main theme, that of the ship and sailor, is very similar, and the number of different examples from Pontefract Castle makes it clear that this was a popular local style comparable with the regional designs used in Lincoln and Nottingham.

*Standing figure*

One bowl fragment (Fig. 5, ex. 34) was recovered from the excavation bearing a standing figure on both sides on the bowl. The figure's arms are outstretched and hold on to a floral wreath which loops around the figure. The bowl has leaf-decorated seams and dates from *c.* 1810–50. No published parallels for this design can be found.

It is difficult to be certain of any local social meaning implied by the bowl designs. Many, such as the acorn and flutes and swags, are common forms with wide distributions across the country. Similarly, Masonic designs were commonly used by pipe makers and might not necessarily be equated solely with the Pontefract Lodge. The maritime designs almost certainly commemorate the British Navy, though they are perhaps a little too late to have a definite association with its successes during the Napoleonic wars. There is also no correspondence of pipe designs to the names of former public houses (R. Van Riel, pers. comm.). In a Pontefract context the Prince of Wales Feathers motif may be related to the Prince of Wales coal mine, sunk in 1872; however, similar designs are found elsewhere and may be more reasonably associated with regimental designs. Neither of the Pontefract regiments had the feathers as part of its badge, although it might be noted that a volunteer battalion of the Prince of Wales's Own (West Yorkshire Regiment) came into existence in the late nineteenth century (R. Van Riel, pers. comm.).

## MARKED PIPES

There are fifteen marked bowls or stems dating from the nineteenth century which account for 30 per cent of all the marked pipes from Pontefract Castle. Details of the nineteenth-century marked pipes appear in Table 2 below.

## SYMBOL MARKS

Only four of the nineteenth-century bowls had symbol marks moulded on to either side of the spurs. Each type is discussed below.



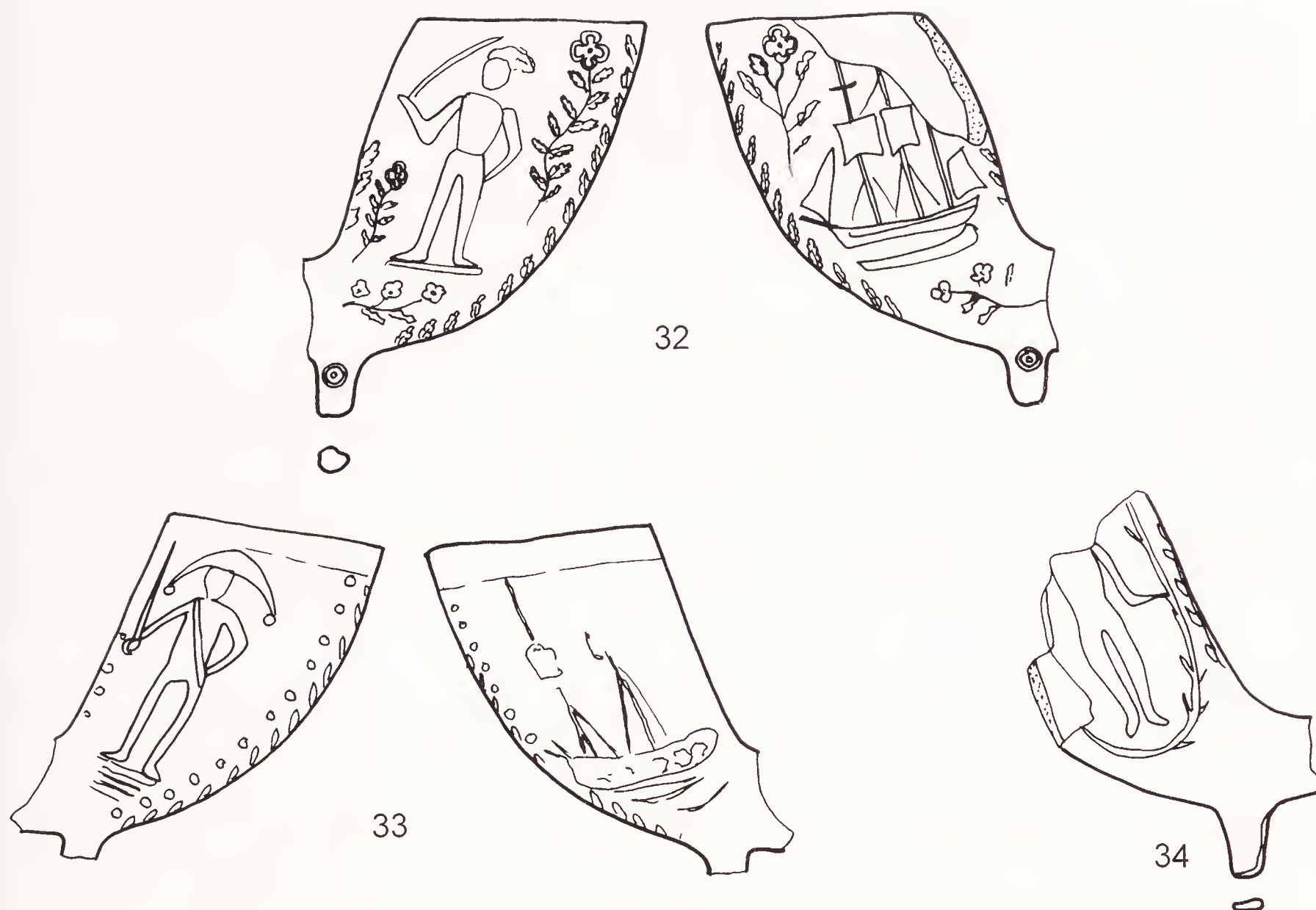


Fig. 5. Examples 32-34. Scale 1:1.

*Dots in circles*

One example of this type of moulded mark was recovered from context 087. The mark, which comprises a dot in a circle, appears on either side of the spur on a bowl dating from 1830-60 (Fig. 4, ex. 32).

*Diamonds*

One example of this type of moulded mark was recovered from context 278. The mark takes the form of four small diamonds arranged in a cross on either side of the spur and appears on a bowl dating from 1840-80 (not illustrated).

*Shield*

One example of this type of moulded mark (Fig. 3, ex. 18) was recovered from context 277. This mark takes the form of a small shield decorated with vertical lines. It appears on the side of a flutes and swags bowl marked with the initials JA, belonging to James Allen c. 1847-84.

*Star*

One example of this type of moulded mark was recovered from context 278. This mark, comprising a small star with a dot at the centre on either side of the spur, appears on a flutes and swags bowl dating from 1840-60 (not illustrated).

## INITIAL MARKS

Three sets of initials were found on the nineteenth-century bowls from Pontefract castle:



TABLE 2: Details of marked nineteenth-century pipes

Area	Cat.	Ctxt	SF	B	S	Date	Initial	Other	Comments
Chapel Bank	32	087	830	1		1830-60		Dot in circle	On ship and sailor bowl; motif on sides of the spur
Constable Tower ext		278	2123		1	1840-80		Diamonds	Motif on sides of the spur
Constable Tower ext		278	2123	1		1840-60		Star	Flutes and swags bowl
Kitchen		4001	2872	1		1847-84	C-		Charles Allen of Pontefract; ship and sailor; lettering on bowl
Topsoil	29	001	1325	2		1847-84	-A		Charles Allen of Pontefract; ship and sailor bowl; lettering on bowl
U/S		U/S	1853	1		1847-84	-A		Charles Allen of Pontefract; flutes and swags bowl; lettering on bowl
Chapel Bank		086	631	1		1847-84	CA		Charles Allen of Pontefract; flutes and swags bowl; lettering on bowl
Chapel Bank		086	829	1		1847-84	CA		Charles Allen of Pontefract; ship and sailor bowl; lettering on bowl
Chapel Bank		086	829	1		1847-84	CA		Charles Allen of Pontefract; flutes and swags bowl; lettering on bowl
Constable Tower ext	18	277	2111	1		1847-84	JA	Shield on spur	James Allen of Pontefract; flutes and swags bowl; lettering on bowl
Constable Tower ext		278	2123	1		1847-84	JA		James Allen of Pontefract; flutes and swags bowl; lettering on bowl
Topsoil		001	1325	2		1822-44	IH		John Hayes of Pontefract; Masonic bowl; lettering on bowl
Chapel Bank	21	086	829	1		1822-44	IH		John Hayes of Pontefract; Masonic bowl; lettering on bowl

CA, JA and IH. In each case the bowls can be attributed to makers working around the castle at Pontefract in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

CA

Seven examples of bowls with the moulded initials CA were recovered from the excavations (e.g. Fig. 3, ex. 17, Fig. 4, ex. 29). These bowls can almost certainly be attributed to Charles Allen who is known to have been working at the Castle Garth in Pontefract from 1847 to 1884.

The initials appear on two distinctive, decorated bowls. The first bowl type is decorated



with flutes and swags, the detail of which is very neatly executed. There are examples of this type that were produced in the same mould: 086 (631), U/S (1853) and 86 (829). The second bowl type is decorated with a sailor on one side of the bowl and a rigged ship on the other and has leaf-decorated seams and moulded milling. On this second bowl type the initials CA appear on either side of the sailor at the top of the bowl. There are four examples of the sailor and ship type, all from the same mould: one example each from 086 and 4001 and two examples from context 001.

### *JA*

Two examples of a bowl bearing the moulded initials JA were recovered from the excavations (e.g. Fig. 3, ex. 18). Both examples have rather crude mould-decorated flutes and swags on both sides of the bowl, which also have leaf-decorated seams. On the sides of the spur are small moulded shields. The initials JA appear below the swags on both sides of the bowl. These bowls are almost certainly the work of a James Allen who is known to have been working at the Castle Garth in Pontefract from 1847 to 1884. The form of decoration and marking is identical to that of the Dodson family who were working in Birstall in the 1850s and 1860s (Brook 1989).

### *IH*

Two examples of a bowl bearing the moulded initials IH were recovered from the excavations (Fig. 3, ex. 21, Fig. 4, ex. 24). Both bowls appear to have been produced in the same mould (see discussion on moulds below). In both cases the initials IH appear on either side of the mould seam on the front of the bowl facing the smoker. Both bowls bear Masonic motifs. These bowls can almost certainly be attributed to a John Hayes who was working in Pontefract between 1822 and 1844 (Oswald 1975, 199).

## MANUFACTURING AND FINISHING TECHNIQUES

### *Kiln Furniture*

Four fragments of kiln furniture were recovered from two contexts. The first was 277 (2111), which produced part of a ring wad from a muffle kiln (Peacey 1996, 70–73). The second was 278 (2123), which produced two fragments of ring wads and one applied strip with finger impressions on one side. This second context included possible kiln waste in the form of stem fragments with slaggy material adhering.

### *Moulds*

With nineteenth-century decorated bowls a question is raised as to how such detailed designs could be produced in cast iron. A number of the decorated bowls from Pontefract have very crisp and quite detailed designs. One suggestion, based on a surviving pattern in Newcastle-under-Lyme Museum, is that the bowl portion of the wooden mould pattern may have had a wax lining into which the detailed design could be modelled before the metal mould was cast (D. Higgins, pers. comm.).

By looking carefully at the bowl forms it is possible to detect small flaws in the mould, caused either during the manufacturing process or by subsequent refileing and repairing of the mould, and this helps to identify individual bowls that were produced from the same mould.

Example 21 is one of two bowls from context 001 that came from the same mould. Two further bowls recovered, e.g. example 24, were also from this mould, as revealed by certain flaws in the mould. It can clearly be seen that not only is the detail of the design in example 21 much crisper and fresher than that of example 24, but also that there are a number of quite subtle differences in parts of the design. It could be argued



that the deterioration in the quality of detail is the result of constant use and that the mould detail had simply worn down, in which case example 21 would be much earlier than example 24. It is, however, hard to believe that any mould could have been worn down in this way to quite such an extent, and this would not explain the minor changes in certain elements of the design. An alternative suggestion would be that these were, in fact, two similar moulds cast from a common pattern but with differences in the quality and detail of the casting.

## CATALOGUE

In the descriptions which follow directions such as left, right, front and back are as viewed by the smoker of the pipe. The general provenance of each find is indicated by the italicised coding at the end of each entry. Area abbreviations are as follows: Ba = Bakehouse; CB = Chapel Bank; CT = Constable Tower; ECT = External to Constable Tower (Castle Garth); KI = Kitchen; RA = Raised Area (between Keep and Garden Wall); US = unstratified.

1. Heeled bowl, *c.* 1680–1710; good burnish; rim bottered but not milled; bore 6/64". *CT*
2. Heeled bowl *c.* 1690–1720; good burnish; rim bottered but not milled; rim internally trimmed; bore 5/64". *CT*
3. ?Spurred bowl, *c.* 1690–1720; average burnish; rim bottered but not milled; bore 6/64". *CB*
4. Heeled bowl, *c.* 1690–1730; no burnishing; rim cut and internally trimmed; bore 6/64". *CT*
5. Stem fragment, *c.* 1700–70; decorated with bands made up of incised lines and parallelograms; good burnish; bore 4/64". *ECT*
6. Stem fragment, *c.* 1760–1800; decorated with small flowers or *fleurs-de-lys* on a hatched spiral; bore 5/64". *CB*
7. Stem fragment, *c.* 1770–1800; stamped with a roller stamp border made up of circles and dots, above a decorative stem twist. Similar examples found in the Midlands and in Beverley in the East Riding of Yorkshire. *RA*
8. Stem fragment, *c.* 1740–60; good burnish; stamped across the stem with the lettering RIH:SCORA/ROMARSH; bore 5/64". Similar example from the north-western Bailey. *CT*
9. Stem fragment, *c.* 1740–90; stamped across the stem with the lettering ..etwo.. (almost certainly from the name Flectwood); bore 5/64". *US*
10. Stem fragment, *c.* 1720–40; stamped across the stem with the lettering THO:WILD; bore 4/64". *BA*
11. Composite drawing of a mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1840–60; acorn design on both sides of the bowl; large oak leaf on the back; cut rim; bore 5/64". Fragments of twenty examples of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from this context. *ECT*
12. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; Britannia on right, ship on left; leaf-decorated seams; bore 4/64". *US*
13. Mould-decorated bowl; *c.* 1830–60; flowers, possibly roses or thistles, on both sides of the bowl; cut rim; bore 5/64". *CB*
14. Composite drawing of a mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1840–80; rose design on both sides of the bowl; leaf-decorated seams; cut rim; bore 4/64". Fragments of twenty-six examples of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from this context. *ECT*
15. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1850–1900; rose and thistle design on either side; leaf-decorated border with ?shamrocks along the front seam; cut rim; bore 5/64". *ECT*
16. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1790–1840; series of narrow flutes on both sides; cut rim; bore 5/64". *CB*
17. Mould-decorated bowl fragment, *c.* 1847–84; flutes and swags on both sides; rim wiped; the initial C can be seen on the left, with an A on the right; CA is most probably Charles Allen who was working in the Castle Garth at Pontefract between 1847 and 1884. *CB*
18. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1847–84; flutes and swags on both sides; cut rim; bore 5/64"; the initials JA can be seen on both sides of the bowl; JA is most probably James Allen who was also working in the Castle Garth at Pontefract between 1847 and 1884. *ECT*



19. Mould-decorated bowl fragment, *c.* 1830–60; traces of a person smoking a pipe can be seen on the sides of the bowl; leaf-decorated seams; wiped rim. *KI*
20. Composite drawing of a mould-decorated bowl; *c.* 1840–60; footballer on either side; stylised leaf-decorated seams; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". Fragments of twenty-one examples of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from this context. *ECT*
21. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1820–50; Masonic motifs on both sides; cut rim; the initials *IH* can be seen near the rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *IH* is most probably John Hayes of Pontefract who is recorded as working between 1822 and 1844 (Oswald 1975, 200). *CB*
22. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; Masonic motifs on both sides; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". The bowl is slightly distorted and appears to have 'sagged' during firing. *CB*
23. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1810–50; Masonic motifs on both sides; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *CB*
24. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; Masonic motifs on both sides; cut rim; the initials *IH* appear on the front. *IH* is most probably John Hayes of Pontefract who is recorded working between 1822 and 1844 (Oswald 1975, 200). *ECT*
25. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; Masonic motifs on both sides with prominent letter *G*; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *CB*
26. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; Masonic motifs on both sides; cut rim; bore  $4/64$ ". *CB*
27. Composite drawing of a plain, spurless bowl, *c.* 1840–60; moulded milling and stylised leaf-decorated seams; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". Fragments of eight examples of this design, all from the same mould, were recovered from this context. *ECT*
28. Mould-decorated bowl, post 1840; simplified Prince of Wales Feathers on both sides within a border; leaf-decorated seams; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *ECT*
29. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1847–84; sailor on right, ship on left; leaf-decorated seams; moulded milling; the initials *CA* can be seen either side of the sailor's head; bore  $4/64$ ". One of four examples recovered from the site, all from the same mould. *CA* is most probably Charles Allen who was working in the Castle Garth at Pontefract between 1847 and 1884. *ECT*
30. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; sailor on left, ship on right; seams decorated with pellets; mould band running around the bowl just under the rim; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *CB*
31. Mould-decorated bowl, late nineteenth century; ship on left, ?sailor and flag on right; moulded milling; seams decorated with acorns and oak leaves; cut rim. *CB*
32. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; sailor on right, ship on left; leaf-decorated seams; roses appear around the sailor and the ship; moulded dot in a circle either side of the spur; cut rim; bore  $5/64$ ". *CB*
33. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1830–60; sailor on right, ship on left; poorly moulded design; seams decorated with leaves and pellets; cut rim; bore  $4/64$ ". *CB*
34. Mould-decorated bowl, *c.* 1810–50; standing figure holding a floral wreath on left; no rim surviving; bore  $4/64$ ". *ECT*

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Locations of pipe makers' workshops are taken from Van Riel (1990)



## YORKSHIRE AND THE FIFTEEN

By Jonathan Oates

In 1952 Cedric Collyer had an excellent article published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* covering the county and the Forty-Five Rebellion. Since then, there have been a number of articles of varying quality, concerning Yorkshire, or about particular towns therein, during that rebellion.<sup>1</sup> However, there has not been any work published about Yorkshire during the Jacobite rebellion of thirty years earlier. This is probably owing to the far scantier source material available, and is symptomatic of the fact that the Forty-Five has had far more coverage than the earlier rebellion (there has been no book solely covering the Fifteen published since 1970, compared to the vast output concerning the later rising).

This article surveys the responses in Yorkshire to the 1715 rebellion. It does not detail the few Jacobites in the county — they have been covered in a previous article in this journal.<sup>2</sup> Instead, as Collyer's article did in 1952, it surveys the responses of the various elements of county administration and society towards the rebellion. These were as follows: the Lieutenancy, Quarter Sessions, the Sheriff and the Corporations. There are also the Anglican Church and society to consider. This article examines the impact and the effectiveness of those in the county acting in support of the Hanoverian dynasty.

The accession of George I in August 1714 passed quietly, but his first year as the first Hanoverian monarch on the British throne was turbulent. There were riots throughout the country, which, if not wholly Jacobite, were certainly anti-Hanoverian and against all the new monarch and his allies stood for — anti-war, anti-Marlborough, anti-Dissent, anti-Whig and anti-German. The replacement, after the general election of January 1715, of Tories by Whigs in local offices created resentment among the county squirearchy at a dangerous time. There was, too, little innate loyalty towards the new dynasty. When rebellion did break out, in Scotland on 6 September and in Northumberland exactly one month later, the Hanoverian throne appeared distinctly shaky. Yet the government had been aware, from July at least, that rebellion had been planned, and had been taking counter-measures. Its allies in the provinces were quick to follow its lead.

Although, as in 1745, the rebel forces never marched into Yorkshire, this could not have been foreseen. Thomas Forster's rebels gathered in Northumberland, marched from there in late October, straddled the Borders and eventually reached Lancashire in early November. They never threatened to enter Yorkshire. However, this could not be known in advance and so there was concern about any Jacobite support in Yorkshire. Such support and sentiment turned out to be minimal: a few people were found guilty of

<sup>1</sup> C. Collyer, 'Yorkshire and the Forty Five', *IAJ*, 38 (1952–55), pp. 71–95; F. J. McLynn, 'Hull and the Forty Five', *IAJ*, 52 (1980), pp. 135–42; N. Arch, 'To Stop this Dangerous Mischief: York and the Forty Five', *York Historian*, 3 (1980), pp. 27–30; B. Whitehead, 'York and the Jacobite Rebels: Some events and people in the York of 1745–1747', *The York Historian*, 6 (1985), pp. 59–71; J. Oates, 'York and Rebel Prisoners, 1745–1752', *York Historian*, 17 (2000), pp. 47–61; J. Oates, 'Halifax and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, n. s., 9 (2001), pp. 100–06; J. Oates, 'Independent Volunteer Forces in Yorkshire during the Forty-Five', *IAJ*, 73 (2001), pp. 123–31.

<sup>2</sup> J. Oates, 'The Jacobites of Yorkshire', *IAJ*, 74 (2002), pp. 205–17. See also Oates, 'Yorkshire Jacobites: A List', below.



sedition words, and there were some, relatively small-scale, anti-Hanoverian disturbances — in York, Leeds and Sheffield. As a county, Yorkshire had returned two Tory candidates at the General Election in 1715, but those representing the (mostly pocket) boroughs were Whig.<sup>3</sup> No rising began in Yorkshire, however. Yet the county authorities were most assiduous in promoting their loyalty to the new dynasty, by sending loyal addresses, raising forces and clamping down on suspects.

### *Garrisons*

Central government had few regular forces in Yorkshire. In any case, the state's sparse military resources were concentrated at the danger points — Scotland, Northumberland, the South-West and around London. A few troops were sent to Yorkshire, dragoons being despatched to Leeds, which was thought to be dubious in its loyalties.<sup>4</sup> Colonel John Jones, lieutenant governor of Hull, was one of the few regular officers in Yorkshire at the time of the rebellion. He received into his custody two suspected Jacobites, Lord Dunbar and Sir Marmaduke Constable, by 1 October.<sup>5</sup> Dunbar was soon sent to London in the company of King's Messengers, on the orders of the governor, Viscount Irwin, though Constable remained in Hull until January 1716 at the least, and, according to Gooch, was later sent to York where he was released in March 1716.<sup>6</sup>

Jones also took steps to defend the town and castle. He liaised with the mayor on forming a militia in the town. Forty half-pay officers arrived by 12 October to assist in the defence; some were later despatched to York.<sup>7</sup> Cannon were sent to York, too, presumably by river. Townsmen were paid to help repair the defences.<sup>8</sup> The corporation desired that he imprison Catholics, but Jones, 'believing them Poor Inoffensive fellows' allowed them to see their families.<sup>9</sup>

The government had asked for, and had been sent, 6000 Dutch troops, and half of these were sent on board ships via Hull for the north of England. The troops arrived at Hull in mid-November, and Jones was responsible for assisting their passage. By this time the rebels in England had been defeated, and Argyll needed extra men in Scotland. However, the masters of the ships at Hull refused to travel to their new destination, and the troops complained about their accommodation. Jones told the masters that he would put pilots on board the ships so they could proceed to Scotland without their masters if necessary and persuaded local tax collectors to provision 300 of the men. Finally, on 3 December, Jones could write, 'After a great deal of trouble I have got the Dutch on board'.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Lieutenancy*

The titular heads of the counties were the Lords Lieutenant; each riding in Yorkshire possessed one. The Lord Lieutenant was usually a powerful nobleman and, although he took little part in the routine governance of the county, during periods of rebellion he had to muster, arm and lead the county militia. The Lieutenants were, then, the most important figures in the county. To assist them were the Deputy Lieutenants. Two out of the three Lords Lieutenant were but newly appointed — Richard Boyle (1695–1753),

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Flying Post*, 3664, 28–30 June 1715.

<sup>5</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Temple Newsam MSS, TN/PO2/2C/17.

<sup>6</sup> WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO2/2C/21, 40; L.P. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North East England, 1688–1745* (Hull, 1995), p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO2/2C/18, 24.

<sup>8</sup> WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO2/2C/18, 26, 27.

<sup>9</sup> WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO2/2C/40.

<sup>10</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, 55, *Various Collections*, VIII, p. 94.



third Earl of Burlington, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, and Richard Ingram (1688–1721), fifth Viscount Irwin, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding. Robert D'Arcy (1681–1721), Earl of Holderness, was Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding.<sup>11</sup>

With the danger of invasion, rebellion and actual widespread rioting, the Privy Council ordered on 20 July 1715 that the lieutenancy instruct all suspects, Catholics and Non Jurors, within their jurisdictions, to take the loyal oaths of allegiance to the King and to the established Church. Failure to do so should entail the loss of horses (if valued over £5) and arms and restrictions on their movements.<sup>12</sup> Orders were later given to all lieutenants in the northern counties for further action on 16 September, after rebellion had broken out in Scotland. These instructions read: 'cause the whole militia within your lieutenancy both Horse and Foot, to be putt in such a posture as to be in readiness to meet upon the first orders, and to also give the necessary directions to the proper officers of the militia forthwith to seize with the assistance of a constable the persons and arms of all papists, non jurors . . .'<sup>13</sup> Lists of all Catholics within each jurisdiction were also ordered to be drawn up. Few lieutenants complied with the latter. Irwin did so, and was thanked, it being 'an unquestionable mark of your affection and zeal'. Burlington's return was incomplete. He was told to do better, as was Holderness. Most of the lieutenants, nationally speaking, also seem to have turned a blind eye to this instruction.<sup>14</sup>

In this period of civil unrest, the militia was of paramount importance, but in the West Riding it was not until a meeting at Leeds on 7 October for the Deputy Lieutenants that it was first discussed. It was well attended. 'There was a great appearance of gentlemen' according to one of the Deputy Lieutenants, Sir Walter Calverley (1663–1749). Burlington was present and led those assembled in loyal healths. One of these was, 'A confusion to the Pretender, and all his adherents, and to all his open and secret friends'.<sup>15</sup> By 15 October orders had gone out to landowners in the riding informing them how many men and horses they should send for the militia.<sup>16</sup>

The next meeting was on 19 October and, without Burlington, there was some controversy. Sir William Lowther, MP, who was deputising for Burlington, claimed that the others 'did everything to obstruct the King's business; and that they were enemies to King George and that he would certify as much to Lord Burlington'. What this was all about, Calverley does not record, but he did refer to Lowther as being a 'madman'. Orders came from Burlington to search Calverley's house. Calverley was the uncle of Sir William Blackett, a Tory MP for Newcastle, and a suspected Jacobite. Blackett briefly stayed at Calverley's house and took his uncle's advice of going to London to swear loyalty in person to the King.<sup>17</sup> Although Burlington had only given Calverley a commission as a Deputy Lieutenant in August, he decided that he should discharge him later that year on account of this, though he was reinstated in 1730.<sup>18</sup> At least the meeting decided that the clerk of the militia should be paid two shillings per order.<sup>19</sup>

Although orders had been given to raise the militia in the counties on 16 September, Viscount Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, was engaged in correspondence with the Yorkshire Lieutenancy over this issue in the following month. On 25 October

<sup>11</sup>. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO3/3C/2; Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), State Papers, SP35/1, fol. 165v.

<sup>12</sup>. PRO, PC2/85, pp. 251–53.

<sup>13</sup>. PRO, PC2/85, pp. 288–89.

<sup>14</sup>. PRO, PC2/85, pp. 305–06.

<sup>15</sup>. *Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart., 1663–1717*, ed. S. Margerison, Surtees Society, 77 (1886), p. 138.

<sup>16</sup>. WYAS, Bradford, Spencer Stanhope MSS, Sp/St/10/7/9.

<sup>17</sup>. *Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>18</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

he sent commissions under the King's Sign Manual to the three Lieutenants, empowering them to raise volunteers for the King's service. He passed on the King's thanks to them for their zeal and the willingness of his subjects to volunteer for his service. On 1 November, he told Burlington, 'the firmness and loyalty shewn on this occasion by the magistrates and gentlemen of Yorkshire which it must be chiefly attributed to your Lordship's zeal and activity is very agreeable to His Majesty'. Holderness was also thanked for his 'care and vigilance'.<sup>20</sup>

Burlington's zeal was remarkable. Around him he gathered 'a great number of gentlemen and their servants in arms' and also encouraged his tenants to do likewise. To recompense them for their time and trouble, he promised to remit part of their rents if they armed themselves to resist 'against a popish rebellion and invasion'. It is strange, in the light of all this evidence, that there have been some who believed that Burlington may have been sympathetic towards Jacobitism.<sup>21</sup>

Initially, Burlington's forces met at Pontefract in mid-October, which probably accounts for his absence from the meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants. Apparently, they were 'to march with him wherever his Lordship shall think for the service of His Majesty'.<sup>22</sup> They later planned to rendezvous at Leeds on 11 November, doubtless to move to the aid of the regular forces which were moving towards the rebels at Preston. However, his lordship was late, and so the actual gathering occurred on Woodhouse Moor on the following day. Apart from a number of county nobility and gentry, there were about 700 militia and volunteers, 600 of whom were mounted, 'well horsed and well armed' according to John Lucas, a Leeds schoolmaster.<sup>23</sup> Part of the cavalry was led by Thomas Wentworth. His troop of Militia Horse was composed of about eighty-six men, including officers and NCOs, who had been raised by landowners of the wapentakes of Morley, Skeyrack and Osgoldcross.<sup>24</sup> They eventually rode to Preston, though they presumably arrived after the rebels had surrendered.<sup>25</sup> It is probable that Burlington's force was a mixture of volunteers raised by commission and Horse Militia, and it is noteworthy that they rode beyond the county boundaries, as militia were usually deemed to be for purely local use.

Less is known about activity in the other ridings. Irwin acknowledged to his Deputy Lieutenants that provision for the militia was poor. He ordered his subordinates to 'immediately resolve on the most effectual and speediest method for bringing those things forthwith into better order . . . see as the said militia in every respect may be putt into speedy posture to meet and march upon the first orders'.<sup>26</sup> Irwin had already made Sir Robert Hildyard lieutenant-colonel of the Foot Militia in July and had told him to exercise and discipline the men.<sup>27</sup> It is not even certain if the militia were raised. Thirty years later, a later Viscount Irwin commented about the uselessness of the militia 'in the year fifteen'.<sup>28</sup> In any case, Irwin seems to have personally attached himself to Burlington's force.<sup>29</sup>

Holderness ordered Thomas Worsley Esq. to be the lieutenant-colonel of the North

20. PRO, SP<sub>44</sub>/118, pp. 103, 117.

21. *St. James' Evening Post*, 65, 27–29 Oct. 1715.

22. *The Postman*, 11150, 22–25 Oct. 1715.

23. Leeds City Libraries, Local and Family History Library, diary of John Lucas, p. 33.

24. Sheffield City Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, M16/1.

25. Leeds CL, Lucas diary, p. 33.

26. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO<sub>3</sub>/3C/2.

27. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO<sub>3</sub>/3F/1.

28. PRO, SP<sub>36</sub>/68, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>.

29. Leeds CL, Lucas diary, p. 33.



Riding's militia.<sup>30</sup> The militia in this Riding were eventually raised, though possibly this was not until the rebellion was over. On 26 November Mrs Robinson of Newby Hall wrote to her son to tell him that his father 'is very busy last present settleing ye militia and if ye party attempt riseing any more they'l be well prepared to oppose 'em'. Apparently, 'yr father, brother and a great many gentlemen had been campaigning of it at Richmond with Lord Holderness, and at Leeds with Lord Burlington.'<sup>31</sup> However, according to Sir Edward Blackett, there was a lack of enthusiasm among some about sending horses, men and arms for the use of the militia.<sup>32</sup>

Irwin was also the governor of Hull, as well as being one of the Lieutenants. However, most of his responsibilities in this sphere were delegated to Colonel Jones. Townshend, as early as 4 August, instructed Irwin, 'with all convenient speed repair to the said place and taking with upon you the care and charge of it, do all things that are necessary for the security and defence of that place'. It is unknown, though, whether he did so.<sup>33</sup> Hull was a crucial staging post for part of the force of 6000 Dutch troops (mentioned above) who were travelling on board ships on their way to reinforce Argyll in Scotland. On 7 November their arrival was thought to be imminent and so Irwin was asked to 'be at Hull to receive them to make a Disposition for their landing and quartering' or to send someone else to do the work.<sup>34</sup> In fact a duplicate letter to this was sent directly to Hull, since it was thought that Irwin might be on the other side of the county, as appears to have been the case.<sup>35</sup>

The Lieutenants were also involved in drawing up the loyal addresses of the three Ridings to demonstrate written support for the new dynasty. Burlington presented the loyal address of the North Riding in September and introduced that of the city of York to the court at the same time.<sup>36</sup> The county's address was supported by the Deputy Lieutenants among others, but Burlington's name does seem to have been associated with it.<sup>37</sup>

After the rebellion was over, addresses congratulating the King were sent by all three ridings as well as the whole county, between December 1715 and May 1716. These were not only from the elite of nobility, gentlemen and magistrates, but also from the county freeholders, and, in the case of the East Riding, 14,000 names were appended. This indicates that the addresses were designed to show the court that they had the support of the whole political community of the riding.<sup>38</sup>

After the rebellion had been defeated, Burlington had to deal with the prisoners in York Castle. Between April and June he was told to release fifty prisoners, and was also told to release the eighteen prisoners formerly detained in Ripon Gaol. All, except those from Ripon, had to give bail for their appearance at the next Assizes.<sup>39</sup> It seems that the Deputy Lieutenants authorised bail contrary to Burlington's wishes, and he complained that they had never obeyed him, even suggesting that they were motivated by Jacobitism.<sup>40</sup>

It fell to the Lieutenancy to show active leadership in the crisis. Burlington was certainly energetic, though it would appear from the admittedly scanty evidence that his fellows

<sup>30</sup>. North Yorkshire County Record Office (hereafter NYCRO), ZDN13/6/2/13.

<sup>31</sup>. WYAS, Leeds, Vyner MSS 6006/13154.

<sup>32</sup>. Northumberland Record Office, ZBL, MS 191.

<sup>33</sup>. PRO, SP44/118, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup>. PRO, SP44/117, p. 322.

<sup>35</sup>. PRO, SP44/117, p. 324.

<sup>36</sup>. *The London Gazette*, 5366, 20–24 Sept. 1715.

<sup>37</sup>. *Ibid.*, 5362, 6–10 Sept. 1715.

<sup>38</sup>. *Ibid.*, 5391, 17–20 Dec. 1715; 5404, 31 Jan.–4 Feb. 1716; 5432, 8–12 May 1716.

<sup>39</sup>. PRO, PC2/85, pp. 365, 404, 413, 434.

<sup>40</sup>. HMC, *Var. Coll.*, II, p. 410.

were less so. There was, though, no direct necessity for them to act, as invasion and internal rebellion never materialised. However, their actions indicate that Jacobitism had little chance of success in Yorkshire.

### *The Sheriff*

The Sheriff had two practical roles — to secure prisoners in the county gaol prior to their appearance at the Assizes and to summon and lead the posse of all able-bodied men of the county against rioters or rebels. Fairfax Norcliff of Ripon, the Sheriff of Yorkshire during the Fifteen, does not appear to have been a very busy man. All that is known about him is that on 22 September he was ordered to arrest two Yorkshire gentlemen suspected of Jacobitism, Lord Clifton and William Tunstall.<sup>41</sup> Neither appears to have been caught. Indeed, the latter joined the rebels under Thomas Forster.<sup>42</sup> Although William Cotesworth of Gateshead wrote on 11 October that 'Yorkshire has a posse that attends the place where the ships lie', there is no evidence that the sheriff raised this force.<sup>43</sup> It is probable that this is a reference to the militia.

### *Quarter Sessions*

Most of the recorded activity in the county was the work of the regular organs of local administration. Although they were still made up of country gentlemen, many of their members had only been newly appointed. Following the Whig purge in 1714–15, the composition of the commissions had been recently altered. Lowther and Sir Charles Hotham, soon to become court Whig MPs, were two of those whose names were added to the list of Yorkshire JPs. In all, from the East and North Riding commissions, thirty-three names had been added and twenty-four ejected; none was ejected from the West Riding commission.<sup>44</sup> The Sessions acted through the Chief Constables of the wapentakes which made up each riding, who in turn worked with the petty constables. During the rebellion, the Quarter Sessions had to deal with the issue of security as well as their normal duties concerning the poor, roads and bridges and petty crime.

Following instructions from Burlington about the need for vigilance against an attempted invasion and rebellion, the West Riding sessions decided on 6 October that watch must be set. The Chief Constables in each division were to request that the petty constables within their jurisdiction keep watch and ward within their constabularies. Four men were to keep watch by night and two by day, and they were to watch the roads especially. Suspicious strangers were to be conveyed to the nearest JP to be examined.<sup>45</sup> Although there are no such orders for the other ridings, there are references in the accounts of constables there for payments for similar activity.<sup>46</sup>

Following the surrender of the rebels at Preston on 14 November, the West Riding Sessions believed that escaping rebels might have fled to various places within the riding. They then authorised payments to townships for apprehending and conveying such men to York.<sup>47</sup> Two men who were thought to have been with the rebels at Preston were

<sup>41</sup>. PRO, SP44/117, p. 257.

<sup>42</sup>. R. Patten, *The History of the Late Rebellion* (London, 1717), p. 133.

<sup>43</sup>. Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EP F195, Cotesworth to Liddell, 11 Oct. 1715.

<sup>44</sup>. PRO, C234/42–44.

<sup>45</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13, p. 103a.

<sup>46</sup>. J. Oates, 'Responses in North East England to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Reading, 2001), pp. 706–07.

<sup>47</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13, p. 112a.



conveyed to York Castle by an order on 28 November.<sup>48</sup> John Sorkwood, bailiff of Staincliffe, was given ten shillings for searching for another refugee from Preston.<sup>49</sup>

Quarter Sessions were also to provide arms for the militia, many of whose arms had been lost or found defective, owing to years of neglect. Although Burlington undertook to buy muskets, bayonets, swords and other accoutrements for 600 infantrymen, the treasurer of the riding agreed to reimburse him. The total charges came to £800, including the costs of vagrants being transported. The ratepayers of each wapentake were to foot the bill.<sup>50</sup> However, on 18 January it was later reported that 'most of the principals have already provided themselves with Arms' and that Burlington would be told that the arms he was to provide were no longer needed, though by the time this order was given, the issue was hardly relevant any more.<sup>51</sup> The constables also supplied men and/or arms for the militia; at least in the East and West Ridings. For example, the constable of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York, paid £4 16s. 6d. to three men for bearing arms for eight days, at the cost of twelve pence per day, plus costs of equipment.<sup>52</sup>

Constables were reimbursed for apprehending those suspected of seditious language.<sup>53</sup> At least twelve men were prosecuted in Yorkshire for this offence. In the North Riding those who were prosecuted thus were bound over to keep the peace, being bailed for sums varying from £10 to £100.<sup>54</sup> In the East Riding, constables were also reimbursed for the trouble they were put to in the creation of a loyal address; by January 1716 the total cost had been £15.<sup>55</sup>

Quarter Sessions also assisted the army to transport its baggage. At least 109 petty constables in the West Riding were reimbursed for providing carriages in order to transport baggage belonging to the Dutch troops marching through the riding in December 1715. The total sum was £164, which was more than the standard allowance, 'the roads were so very bad'.<sup>56</sup> In the North Riding over £300 was reimbursed to the constables for the provision of wagons and guides.<sup>57</sup>

As well as general security issues, the JPs had to deal with those who were thought to be the main danger — Catholics. According to Patrick Purcell, the JPs were particularly zealous: 'the English authorities conducted a campaign against the existence of the catholic religion in the north of England where its adherents were most numerous'.<sup>58</sup> Even before the rising began, the JPs were eager to carry out the orders of the Privy Council, which had been issued in July. This was certainly the case in the North Riding. Payments were given to the Chief Constables for summoning Catholics to swear the loyal oaths. Orders were written to seize horses and arms belonging to the Catholics who refused to swear against their own religion.<sup>59</sup>

The Chief Constables of the West Riding were also ordered to summon all clergymen, schoolmasters, lawyers, freeholders and copyholders with an estate of £10 and all merchants, farmers and craftsmen with an annual income of £200 or more to take the loyal oaths. These oaths had to be sworn before a justice at one of a number of towns in the

<sup>48</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 108b–109a.

<sup>49</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 112a.

<sup>50</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>51</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 116b.

<sup>52</sup>. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Y/HTG/15, p. 269.

<sup>53</sup>. East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service (hereafter ERYAS), QSV1/2A, fol. 48r.

<sup>54</sup>. *Ibid.*; NYCRO, QSB 1715, 1716; WYAS, Wakefield, QS1/55/1.

<sup>55</sup>. ERYAS, QSV1/2A, fol. 51v.

<sup>56</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13, p. 117a.

<sup>57</sup>. NYCRO, QSM 1716, pp. 240–56, 1717, pp. 8–18.

<sup>58</sup>. P. Purcell, 'The Jacobite Rising of 1715 and English Catholics', *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), p. 418.

<sup>59</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

riding between 24 October and 5 November. Summonses were delivered by the petty constables.<sup>60</sup> As late as 3 December, the Quarter Sessions ordered that Catholics be sent to York Castle.<sup>61</sup>

Horses and arms were seized from Catholics. On 2 July 1716 one John Davy was paid £2 3s. for 'his trouble in seizing of horses belonging to papists'.<sup>62</sup> Yet some Catholics were allowed to retain some of their horses and guns. Henry Frankland Gould was permitted to keep his three horses, two guns and a brace of pistols, as he swore on oath, 'that the said horses and arms shall not be made use of . . . whatsoever but in my owne Affaires and for my own and proper use'.<sup>63</sup> In the North Riding, Lord Fairfax was allowed to retain two fowling pieces and a sword for his own use.<sup>64</sup> Complaints against over-zealous constables were sometimes made; the action of the Chief Constable of Ouse and Derwent in taking a horse from George Emner of Stillingfleet was questioned.<sup>65</sup>

From July to December the Chief Constables in the West Riding were energetic in carrying out their instruction concerning Catholics. This involved working with the petty constables in searching the property of scores of Catholics. The latter were summoned to take oaths before the JPs and those who would not do so were conveyed by the constables to the county gaol at York (where Catholics to the number of thirty-nine were housed). Horses were also seized.<sup>66</sup>

The Quarter Sessions were at their most active over the arrest of Catholics and others thought to be Jacobite sympathisers. This was a heavy-handed approach, which was not repeated thirty years later. However, it may have deprived the Yorkshire Jacobites (assuming they were a potentially credible force) of the necessary leadership and deterred others from activity.

### *The Corporations*

Although the county was politically sympathetic to Toryism, almost all the smaller electorates of the corporations returned Whigs in 1715. The fact that some were Tory did not noticeably alter their responses. The two main corporations in Yorkshire were York and Hull. York's corporation were particularly alert to the carrying out of orders from the centre. Even before Anne's death the Privy Council ordered it to implement various security measures. By 4 August 1714 William Readman, the Lord Mayor of York, could inform his masters that gates were locked and Catholics and other suspects were summoned before the corporation to take their oaths of allegiance.<sup>67</sup>

The Privy Council sent a number of instructions throughout the year to the mayors of corporations to be vigilant against Catholics, as they had to the Lords Lieutenant. In December 1714 and July and October 1715 York Corporation took steps against Catholics. On the first occasion, sixty-five were summoned to take the oaths and the seventeen of these who refused were fined a total of £2 14s. 6d. In July thirty-four of the fifty-seven summoned refused, and were fined. In October twenty-eight were gaoled, but twenty-two soon escaped.<sup>68</sup> Further summonses were ordered in November.<sup>69</sup>

Hull Corporation was also busily acting against rebel sympathisers at an early date:

<sup>60</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13, pp. 106a-b.

<sup>61</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QE28/5.

<sup>62</sup>. ERYAS, QSV1/2A, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup>. *Ibid.*, fol. 49<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup>. NYCRO, QSM, 1716, p. 250a.

<sup>65</sup>. ERYAS, QSV1/2A, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup>. WYAS, Wakefield, QS1/55/4; WYAS, Leeds, Nostell Priory MSS, NP1514/9.

<sup>67</sup>. PRO, SP35/1, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>68</sup>. York City Archives (hereafter YCA), F12a, pp. viii, x-xv, xviii.

<sup>69</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.



on 5 February 1715 Townshend thanked its members for gathering evidence against one Dawson, a publisher of seditious texts.<sup>70</sup>

At York, too, suspects and Catholics were being arrested. According to *The Postman*, 'Letters from York say, that they have seized a great many Disaffected People'.<sup>71</sup> Some escaped — two Catholics suspected of being with the rebels at Preston were reported as doing so in June 1716, and a reward of five guineas on each was offered.<sup>72</sup>

Addresses were sent from the town corporations as well as from the Ridings and the county. Even some unincorporated boroughs sent loyal addresses. Boroughbridge, Aldborough and Kingston upon Hull sent addresses as early as August, before even the first flickers of revolt had begun in Scotland. In the following two months, York, New Malton and Hedon also sent addresses. Most of these were introduced at court by the towns' MPs. Some did not send addresses, Leeds being one. These addresses apparently had the support of all inhabitants as well as corporation members and officials; burgesses, burghers and other inhabitants are referred to in the text.<sup>73</sup> However, only three corporations sent additional addresses after the end of the rebellion: York, Hull and Scarborough.<sup>74</sup>

Of these addresses, only those for York survive, though it is probable that they were all similarly worded. The corporation pledged its 'unutterable loyalty' to the King and pledged to support him 'in our respective stations'. This included the suppression of any riots led by Catholics and others. The reasoning behind such support was that the King was the guarantor of Protestantism and property.<sup>75</sup> The thanksgiving address of 1716 hoped that the King and his successors would enjoy the throne undisturbed by faction.<sup>76</sup>

Even Leeds Corporation, which was accused of Jacobitism, protested its loyalty. Solomon Pollard, the mayor, assured Viscount Irwin that the corporation 'is well affected to His Majesty' and that it celebrated the first anniversary of his accession on 1 August 1715.<sup>77</sup>

Neither York's nor Hull's corporation did much about forming militias. Colonel Jones reported that he had had discussions with the mayor about a militia being formed in Hull, but does not indicate whether such a body was formed.<sup>78</sup> In York, on 20 October, a token militia of fifty to sixty men was formed. However, the corporation hoped that regular forces would be sent to defend the city.<sup>79</sup> York Corporation instituted a new system of watch-keeping on 22 August. There would be nightly patrols by the constables. Although the constables were only ordered to apprehend night walkers and the disorderly, it is probably not a coincidence that the patrols were instituted on the onset of the rebellion. Gates would also be locked at night.<sup>80</sup>

The government evidently thought that the defence of York and Hull should not be neglected. As well as asking that the mayors call the militia into being, they ordered that half-pay officers rendezvous at these places. Half-pay officers were men who had served as officers in wartime and been laid off when peace was made, but still received half pay

<sup>70</sup>. PRO, SP44/116, p. 24.

<sup>71</sup>. *The Postman*, 11150, 22–25 Oct. 1715.

<sup>72</sup>. *The London Evening Post*, 1075, 23–26 June 1716.

<sup>73</sup>. *The London Gazette*, 5354, 9–13 Aug. 1715; 5356, 16–20 Aug. 1715, 5362, 6–10 Sept. 1715; 5375, 22–25 Oct. 1715.

<sup>74</sup>. *Ibid.*, 5407, 11–14 Feb. 1716; 5418, 20–24 March 1716; 5432, 8–12 May 1716.

<sup>75</sup>. YCA, House Book, Vol. 41, p. 156.

<sup>76</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 163b.

<sup>77</sup>. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO3/3C/6.

<sup>78</sup>. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO3/3C/18, 24.

<sup>79</sup>. YCA, F12a, p. xix.

<sup>80</sup>. YCA, House Book, 41, p. 153b.

on the understanding that they return to service if required by the government to do so. In late September, former officers belonging to Molesworth's, Mordaunt's, Vezey's and Rich's units were ordered to go to Hull, and those of Newton's, Price's, Stanwix's, Shannon's and Holt's were to go to York.<sup>81</sup> Any who did not would have their pay suspended. *The London Gazette* added, 'You will receive His Majesty's further orders and the chief officers at each place is hereby required to transmit to the Secretary at War a list of all the names together with the days of the arrival of the respective officers to their quarters'.<sup>82</sup> Those who arrived at Hull were sent by Irwin to York, Sowerby and Beverley.<sup>83</sup>

York Corporation sponsored official celebrations on 7 June 1716 to mark the defeat of the rebellion and spent £40 for the event. It seems that this was to be an entertainment with refreshments for the gentry and clergy at the Guildhall, followed by a ceremonial march to the Minster. Although there was a Jacobite disturbance on this occasion it was quickly suppressed by militia officers and other loyalist gentlemen.<sup>84</sup>

### *The Anglican Church*

During the 1745 rebellion Thomas Herring, Archbishop of York, won renown as the principal cleric in the Hanoverian cause and was seen as the epitome of the Church Militant. Yet, although we know less about the work of his predecessor during the earlier rebellion, Sir William Dawes (1674–1725), the latter fits the role better. In 1714 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) wrote, regarding the danger of rebels plundering the property of those loyal to King George, 'after the zeal the Archbishop has showed, they'll visit his house first'.<sup>85</sup> According to *The Glasgow Courant*, 'The Arch-Bp. of York and Carli[s]le are very zealous for His Majesty's Interest, are with Lord Lansdale [sic] at the Head of the Volunteers, who have risen in Cumberland and the Neighbouring Countys'.<sup>86</sup> This was probably the posse which fled at the news of the rebels' approach.

Although Dawes was a Tory, when many of the Tory clergy were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, he was staunchly Hanoverian. In 1705 he had preached an anti-Catholic sermon at Cambridge. Nine years later he wrote to Sophia Dorothea, whose son was soon to be George I, 'not onely I myself, but the whole body of the clergy are faithfull and zealous' in her family's interest.<sup>87</sup> Thomas Hearne, an Oxford Jacobite, recorded on 14 February 1714 that 'He is withal a Whig, and hath in some cases, been notoriously zealous that way'.<sup>88</sup> After the rebellion Dawes sent the government information about Jacobitism and was reminded of his, 'zeal for the safety of His [the King's] person and government'.<sup>89</sup>

The fifth of November was the red-letter day of the Protestant political calendar, celebrating as it did the delivery of England from Catholicism in both 1605 and 1688. In York it was 'here observed with more than usual solemnity'. The morning was ushered in with bell ringing from the city churches, which continued until the evening. The Minster bells were said to be ringing especially loudly. The only intermission of ringing

81. *The London Gazette*, 5367, 24–27 Sept. 1715.

82. *Ibid.*

83. WYAS, Leeds, TN/PO2/2C/24, 25.

84. YCA, House Book, 41, p. 163a; WYAS, Leeds, Vyner MSS 6002/13876, 6006/13229.

85. *Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband (Oxford, 1970), p. 64.

86. *The Glasgow Courant*, 2 Nov. 1715.

87. W. Dawes, *The continued Plots...* (Cambridge, 1709); British Library, Stowe Manuscripts, 227, fol. 16r.

88. *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 vols, IV: 1712–14, ed. D. W. Rannie, Oxford Historical Society, 34 (1897), p. 313.

89. PRO, SP44/119, p. 295.



was at the time of divine service. It was thought that this was a specifically Whig measure, since the bell ringing was 'to the great mortification of the Tories'.<sup>90</sup>

Lower down the scale, Yorkshire parish churches rang their bells on loyalist occasions. The most common occasion was on 5 November. Out of the thirty-three parishes for which itemised accounts survive, twenty-eight rang their bells on this occasion (85 per cent). Bells sometimes were rung in honour of the King's birthday (twelve) and on the anniversary of his accession (nine). Few rang for Argyll's holding off the rebels at Dunblane (four), but rather more for the victory at Preston (ten), which is unsurprising as the latter was both nearer to home and decisive. Nearly half the churches also rang their bells on the day chosen as the rejoicing day for the defeat of the rebellion (7 June).<sup>91</sup>

With the end of the rebellion in sight, the county's clergy sent a loyal address to the King. This was organised by Dawes and the Dean and Chapter of York. They declared their 'entire Abhorrence and Distress of that unnatural and most wicked Rebellion, begun and carried on by Papists, Non Jurors and other disaffected persons'.<sup>92</sup> They stated their willingness to defend the King's title against his enemies. In particular, they noted their own obligations to him: those of duty and interest. They had sworn their allegiance to him, and if the rebellion, eager to reintroduce Popery, succeeded, they would be the first to suffer. Therefore, 'we now offer up our most hearty and fervent prayers to God, that he would be pleased to give your Majesty the Victory over all your enemies' and to preserve King George and his successors on the throne.<sup>93</sup>

Unfortunately, no published sermons by Yorkshire clergymen survive from this period, so it is impossible to know what was preached in the pulpits in that crucial month of October 1715, or in the following year either. Despite the misgivings of some Tory clergymen over the religious leanings of the new monarch, who was sympathetic to Dissent, they probably followed their Tory Archbishop and preached loyalty to King George, or at least kept their thoughts to themselves.

### *Society*

Initial reactions to the new dynasty had been favourable; at least they were so in York, according to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. In a letter to her husband, dated 3 August 1714, she wrote:

I went with my cousin today to see the King proclaimed, which was done, the Archbishop walking next the Lord mayor, all the country gentry following with greater crowds of people than I believed to be in York, vast acclamations and appearance of a general satisfaction, the Pretender afterwards dragged about the streets and burnt, ringing of bells, bonfires, illuminations, the mob crying liberty and property and long live King George.<sup>94</sup>

Although 'all Protestants here seem unanimous for the Hanover succession', there were fears that there might be an invasion from Scotland. The young ladies at Castle Howard were frightened, and Lady Mary thought Middlethorpe was in danger of being plundered. There were rumours that there was a fleet seen off the coast of Scotland.<sup>95</sup>

Although few troops marched through the county, those who did were feted. Thomas Wilkinson, an MP for Boroughbridge, entertained the men of Molesworth's dragoons who were en route to Newcastle in October.<sup>96</sup> When Carpenter's forces were marching

<sup>90</sup>. *The Weekly Post*, 249, 12 Nov. 1715.

<sup>91</sup>. Oates, thesis, pp. 703–06.

<sup>92</sup>. *The Political State of Great Britain*, XI, 1716, p. 16.

<sup>93</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>94</sup>. *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, p. 64.

<sup>95</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>96</sup>. *The Flying Post*, 3716, 27–29 Oct. 1715.

to Lancashire in early November, the townspeople of Ripon welcomed them by cheering, illuminating their windows and allowing the men to quarter in their houses at no charge.<sup>97</sup>

Apart from the forces gathered together by the Lieutenancy and the corporations, other bodies were also formed. Had they but known it, the Privy Council had authorised on 25 July that anyone who defended his property or person from the rebels should be indemnified if they killed any rebels in doing so.<sup>98</sup> On being told on 9 November by Burlington that the rebels might enter Yorkshire, the town of Sheffield raised a force of 800 infantrymen armed with scythes and firelocks in case the rebels should attack. They also sent a troop of horsemen, armed with swords, pistols and carbines, under the command of William Jessup Esq., who rode to join Burlington's forces.<sup>99</sup> Such reactions in Sheffield were unsurprising: Jacobite disturbances in the town in summer had been quickly put down.<sup>100</sup> They rang the town's bells on the news of the rebels' flight from Aberdeen in February 1716.<sup>101</sup>

Likewise, the men of Northallerton were reported in October to have gathered themselves together to resist the rebels. *The Evening Post* reported thus:

We have been alarmed here with an account from Newcastle of an Insurrection . . . Yesterday 300 of our townsmen were drawn up in the Market place of this town, arm'd with firelocks, swords, halberds, axes, scythes, forks and such weapons as they could get, to make a proper defence.<sup>102</sup>

A number of individuals showed zeal in tracking down suspects. One such was George Warden, barber surgeon of Sheffield, who rode many miles seeking out information and suspects, with 'great zeal and indefatigable industry'. He faced death and impoverishment from his enemies, and so many of the county elite supported his petition for redress. He was given a tidesman's place.<sup>103</sup> Another was Benjamin Tyers of Edlington, who is reputed to have been the first to give information to the government about the intended rebellion/invasion.<sup>104</sup>

One part of the response to the Forty-Five was significantly lacking in 1715: (recorded) popular anti-popery was completely absent. No chapel seems to have been attacked. This is probably because of the rigour shown by the JPs and constables in their implementation of anti-recusancy legislation, to the extent of arresting Catholics where necessary, or it may be because the common people were not as enthusiastic for such direct action, possibly owing to the action of the magistracy.

### *Conclusion*

Although Yorkshire was never directly threatened by the rebels, the county authorities took the rebellion very seriously. Even though the actual period of the emergency lasted little more than one month, that period had been a time of frenetic activity. Militia had been formed, addresses sent, those suspected of disloyalty gaoled. This did not alter the progress of the rebellion one iota. The responses in Yorkshire were also patchy, each Lieutenant acting on his own, the Archbishop acting outside the county and thus no one playing a co-ordinating role — which was not the case in 1745. However, far less time was available in 1715 than in 1745 for a better thought-out response. But the precautions taken did have other results. First, they may have prevented any rebellion breaking out

<sup>97</sup>. *The Daily Courant*, 4389, 17 Nov. 1715.

<sup>98</sup>. PRO, PC2/85, p. 261.

<sup>99</sup>. *St. James' Evening Post*, 73, 15–17 Nov. 1715.

<sup>100</sup>. *The Flying Post*, 3672, 16–19 July 1715.

<sup>101</sup>. J. D. Leader, *Records of the burghery of Sheffield* (London, 1897), p. 338.

<sup>102</sup>. *Evening Post*, 967, 15–18 Oct. 1715.

<sup>103</sup>. PRO, SP35/68, fol. 262<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup>. *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1717, p. 291.



or, on a lesser rating, stopped any significant number of rebel sympathisers from Yorkshire joining Forster's men. This is impossible to prove, because we can never be sure if rebellion was ever going to break out in Yorkshire or if there was ever any large body of men in the county willing to rise up and join Forster. Secondly, the activity of the elite in Church and State may have helped reduce the morale of the rebels and their sympathisers and increase the spirits of the loyalists in the north of England, and indeed, elsewhere. Thirdly, and most demonstrably of all, this activity did show that a sizeable proportion of the politically active in Yorkshire believed that it was their duty and their interest to support the Hanoverian dynasty and all it stood for at a time when its existence was in real peril — a far cry from the responses in Yorkshire to the previous national crisis in 1688. The county authorities retained the initiative throughout the emergency and ensured that whatever might happen in other counties, Jacobitism would not gain a foothold in Yorkshire, though had the rebels marched into the county, it could have been a different story.





## YORKSHIRE JACOBITES: A LIST

By Jonathan Oates

Since the 1970s, there has been academic interest in the study of the English Jacobites, a hitherto unexamined subject. Eveline Cruickshanks in *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the Forty Five* (1979) lists those in England, county by county, who were reckoned as Jacobites in 1743, and Paul Monod in *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (1989) gives totals of those indicted at the Assizes, circuit by circuit, in 1715–16 and in 1745–46. This list covers those Yorkshire Jacobites who, during the periods of the Fifteen and the Forty-Five rebellions, were accused of offences against the state, either of being involved in armed rebellion, or, as was more common, of making seditious comments. Whether these people were merely the tip of a large iceberg of sedition or were representative of the weak nature of Jacobitism in Yorkshire is a matter of debate. For one view, see Jonathan Oates, 'The Jacobites of Yorkshire' in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 74 (2002), pages 205–17.

The sources used, which are fully noted below, include quarter sessions records from the county record offices, assize and state papers from the Public Record Office and contemporary newspapers.

### JACOBITES OF 1715–16

*Held in York Castle (excluding Catholics)*

Thomas Aspinwall, yeoman.

Peter Shippen, yeoman.

*The above were ordered to be bailed.*

John Whitaker, yeoman.

*The above was ordered to be bailed on 17 October 1715 until demanded by the Earl of Burlington, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding.*

Henry Walker.

Nathaniel Staveley.

*The above were ordered to be bailed on 19 October 1715 until their appearance at the next sitting of Quarter Sessions.*

George Heptonstal.

Thomas Messinger.

Anthony Saxton, yeoman.

William Simpson.

John Groock.

Job Catton.

John Bramby.

John Fletcher, labourer.

Matthew Bincliffe, yeoman.

Michael Simpson, yeoman.

*The above ten were ordered to be bailed on 30 December 1715.*

*All the above were deemed to be 'disaffected' but were granted bail on the dates above by order of the*

*Deputy Lieutenants of the West Riding. They were probably sent to York Castle in October 1715 after orders from the West Riding Quarter Sessions on 15 October that all men holding estates of £10 or more or holding stock to the value of £200 and upwards had to swear oaths of allegiance to George I. Those failing to do so would be sent to York Castle.*

Sources: West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Nostell Priory MSS, NP1514/9; WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13, pp. 106a–b.

### *East Riding*

Christopher Small. Seditious words against George I as noted on 5 October 1715.

Robert Snaith of Thorpe. When asked by Richard Webster in Howden in November 1715 to ‘drink King George’s health and other loyall toasts . . . scorned to drink any such healths’.

Robert Claburne of Howden. In company with above. Ditto.

Joseph Biggerton. Ditto.

Sources: East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service, QSV1/2A, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>; QSF33/D4.

### *North Riding*

John Allison. Referred to the Duke of Marlborough as ‘a raskeley son of a whore’.

*Bailed on 11 September 1715 for £80.*

Knowles. Said ‘he [George I] will be thrown out and another put in his name’.

*Bailed on 10 October 1715 for £80.*

John Hardcastle. Seditious words.

*Bailed on 9 November 1715 for £100.*

John Carr. Seditious words.

*Bailed on 1 May 1716 for £100.*

John Hodgson. Seditious words against George I.

*Bailed in October 1715 for £10.*

Source: North Yorkshire County Record Office, QSB 1715, 11 September 1715, 9 November 1715, 1 May 1716.

### *West Riding*

Daniel Robinson, Sheffield innkeeper. Accused of ‘seditious words’.

Thomas Fish of Brotherton. Told soldiers on 7 October 1715 that ‘he that you are going against is the right heir to the Crown . . . Damn King George and his family . . . I hope . . . to see him . . . sent away with a flea in his ear or else’.

*Bound over to the next Assizes.*

Richard Andrew of Knaresborough. Drank ‘health to ye Earl of Marr and all his friends’ on 29 September 1715.

John Taylor of Syke House, labourer. While drinking with others at John Hopkinson of Stainforth’s house, ‘refused to drink the same [health to King George] and drank the Pretender’s health’ on 9 January 1716.

Joseph Hudson. Said ‘King George has nothing to do with the Crown but the Pretender hath the only right to it. And I will fight for him’ on 9 January 1716.

John Shirtlifo. Seditious words against His Majesty.

Hugh Wentworth ‘drunck to the confusion of the government and said that if the Whigs had the majority in parliament he hoped there would be a warr before Michaelmass’ in February 1715.

*Wentworth arrested February 1715.*



Sources: Public Record Office, ASSI<sub>41</sub>/1, ASSI<sub>45</sub>/18/1, SP<sub>44</sub>/116, p. 249; WYAS, Wakefield, QS<sub>1</sub>/55/1, 4, 4/22, QE<sub>28</sub>/5.

### *Hull*

John St John. Referred to as 'a person disaffected to His Majesty'.

*Discharged.*

John or Thomas Dawson, yeoman. For 'publishing the traitorous libel called English Advice to the Freeholders of England'.

*Arrested end January 1715. Acquitted.*

Sources: PRO, SP<sub>44</sub>/116, p. 24; Hull City Archives, CQA<sub>2</sub>, fols 50–58.

### *Others arrested but not brought to trial*

Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham.

William Constable, Viscount Dunbar of Burton.

*These were two of the four men (the others being Lord Clifton and William Tunstall) that Fairfax Norcliff, Sheriff of Yorkshire, was ordered to have taken into custody. They were brought to Hull on 1 October 1715. Dunbar was taken to London on 8 October by King's Messenger, while Constable remained in Hull until at least January 1716, and was later held at York until March 1716.*

Solomon Pollard, apothecary and mayor of Leeds, (1714–15 and 1727–28).

Hugh Sleigh of Leeds, attorney (Pollard's brother in law).

Peter Ormroyde of Leeds.

*The three above were taken by King's Messenger to London in June 1715, for allegedly lacking in zeal in pursuing enquiries concerning a Jacobite riot in Leeds on 10 June 1715. They were released without charge in the following month.*

William Cookson of Leeds, alderman.

*Seized in September 1715 for allegedly conspiring with Sir William Wyndham, MP, in Bath concerning a planned rising in the South-West. Released in April 1716.*

William Walker of Doncaster, alderman.

*Arrested in September 1715.*

Sources: WYAS, Leeds, Temple Newsam MSS, TN/Po<sub>2</sub>/2C/4, 21, 40; Leeds City Libraries, Local and Family History Library, Diary of Thomas Lucas, pp. 33, 51; *The London Evening Post*, 1110, 13–15 September 1715; *The Flying Post*, 3666, 2–5 July 1715, 3719, 12–14 January 1716; PRO, SP<sub>44</sub>/117, p. 257.

### *Yorkshiremen in the rebel ranks*

Thomas Bulmer, gentleman, Stadford (possibly Startforth, N.R., near Barnard Castle).

James Watson, servant, Sheffield.

Hugh Huchison, Clifton (probably near Brighouse, W.R.).

A. Adsison, whitener, Leeds.

Thomas Gode, shoemaker (parish unknown).

John Stetton, gentleman, Cherlyhill (possibly Chirl Hill in Wombwell, W.R.).

Richard Aspinall, gentleman (parish unknown).

*All these joined the rebel army which surrendered at Preston.*

William Tunstall of Wycliffe, a Catholic gentleman 'born to a plentiful fortune'. Acted as paymaster and quartermaster.

*Captured at Preston; released 1717.*

Walter Tancred of Brampton and Aldborough. Served as Lord Widdrington's gentleman of Horse.

*Captured at Preston; transported to the Americas, 1716.*

N.B. Patten refers to 'a gentleman from Richmond' joining the rebels on 6 November, but does not name him.

Sources: PRO, KB8/66; R. Patten, *History of the Late Rebellion* (London, 1717), pp. 88, 131, 133; L. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North East England, 1688-1745* (Hull, 1995), pp. 96, 98.

## JACOBITES OF 1745-46

*Held in York Castle (excluding Catholic priests)*

Elizabeth Haigh of Wakefield. At a Wakefield pub on 12 October 1745, she declared: 'His Majesty not any right to the Crown — Pretender has right and she would raise men and give money for it all'.

*Gaoled 16 October 1745. Indictment prepared but no witnesses and so in view of insufficient evidence, release ordered on 18 December 1746.*

George Carnworth. Termed as a 'dangerous person', being a deserter, enlisting with the French, and a spy.

*Gaoled 14 November 1745. Release ordered on 18 December 1746 after giving sufficient securities to appear at assizes in 1747.*

Richard Wright, labourer. Suspected of setting out to enlist with the rebels.

*Release ordered on 18 December 1746 after giving sufficient securities to appear at assizes in 1747.*

Matthew Idulson of Sheffield. Talked 'disrespectfully' about George II.

*Sufficient evidence to convict.*

William Hogg. Offence unknown.

James Nisbett, publican of The Sign of the Crown and Thistle, Rotherham. Magnified rebel numbers and tried to intimidate soldiers billeted at pub. It was claimed that 'the greatest part of his discourse was of the Pretender and his army whom he said had seen the last week and affirmed that the Pretender's army was 20,000, that they were very well armed having each of them a firelock, a blunderbuss and pistols and that the Duke's army would be a breakfast fore them and General Wade's army a supper and the new recruits but 2 hours work'.

*Nisbett gaoled 10 December 1745. Release ordered 18 December 1746.*

Joseph Cawthorn. Offence unknown.

Edward Davies. Offence unknown.

Christopher Maltby of York, barber. Accused of high treason on 20 August 1746.

John Douglas of Yarm, apothecary. Drank the Pretender's health — 'Here's to Prince Charles' — when Gervase Coats suggested a toast to Cumberland.

*Douglas imprisoned for one week, fined £5 and bailed for £100.*

Dr John Burton of York, physician. Consorting with rebels in Lancashire.

*Arrested at York in November 1745. Sent to London in April 1746. Released without trial on 25 March 1747.*

Sources: PRO, SP36/81, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>, SP36/93, fols 304<sup>r</sup>-305<sup>v</sup>, SP44/84, p. 114, ASSI44/61, ASSI45/23/2, ASSI41/3; *The London Evening Post*, 2938, 2-4 September 1746.

*Appeared at York Assizes, 1746*

Robert Grimston of Boughton. Said to be 'a favourer of a person said to be the Prince of Wales' and accused of 'speaking and publickly uttering divers treasonable and seditious words against . . . the King' in November 1745.

*Found not guilty.*

Mary Metcalf of Guisborough, spinster. For 'being suspected of transmitting of money



from one papist to another supposed to be employed against His Majesty's government' on 15 December 1745.

*Bailed for £50.*

Mary Fawcett of Giggleswick. Offence unknown.

*Bailed for £40 and to appear at next assizes.*

William Crossley of Honley, oil drawer. Offence unknown.

*Bailed for £100.*

Richard Cogden 'made a great disturbance in the street and [was] cursing the King, saying God damn King George and he would serve the Pretender before he would serve King George' on 24 September 1745.

Dr Francis Drake of York. For 'publishing that the Duke hath had a battle with the rebels and had been defeated' on 14 March 1746.

*Drake bound over for £200.*

Sources: PRO, ASSI44/60-62, ASSI41/3, ASSI45/23/2.

### *East Riding*

Henry Welborn of Coniston, labourer. Said 'God damn the Duke of Cumberland he never did Good in his life'.

*Fined 6s. on 3 July 1746.*

Mrs Hamilton, wife of Henry Hamilton of Sutton, sugar boiler. Said 'Damn these Protestants that will not let the Pretender in for he is going to hurt none of them' on 29 September 1745.

Robert Hesslewood of Sutton, labourer. Claimed he would join the Pretender.

Anthony Hesslewood. Ditto.

Robert Maltby of Hornsea, poor man. Drank Pretender's health 'when he was very much in liquor'.

*Maltby detained in York Castle, 1745.*

Sources: ERYAS, QSV2/9, QSF 150/D1, 151/C10, 153/B4, C3-4.

### *North Riding*

William Bussy. Objectionable behaviour as alleged by sergeant James Keeling on 28 October 1745.

*Bailed for £20.*

Thomas Savage. Sending intelligence to the rebels on 3 October 1745.

*Whipped.*

Mary Savage. Ditto.

David Souter. For 'speaking several malicious words against the Protestants of this Nation' on 30 October 1745.

*Souter bailed for £110.*

Source: NYCRO, QSB 1745, 8 October 1745, February and June 1746.

### *West Riding*

William Gibson 'expressed many words in favour of the Pretender, that the Pretender is the right heir to the Crown, and . . . he drank the Pretender's health and much more to that purpose' in early September 1745.

Source: WYAS, Wakefield, QS1/85/2

### *Leeds*

James Garnett of Leeds, yeoman. Seditious words against George II on 13 January 1746.

*Sent to House of Correction at Wakefield.*

James Toogood of Leeds, hatter. Ditto.

Abraham Widdup of Leeds, labourer, 'a pernicious and seditious man . . . did publish, utter and declare with a loud voice . . . here is a good health to the Pretender' on 10 October 1745.

*Widdup sent to House of Correction in October, to York Castle on 16 January 1746. Release ordered 18 December 1746. Fined (later remitted) 6s. 8d.*

Source: WYAS, Leeds, LC/QS1/7, pp. 339–54.

*Yorkshiremen in the rebel ranks*

William Ashley of Bradford, hardwareman.

Andrew Blood/Blyde 'of a reputable family in Yorkshire' and steward of Lord Widdrington. Captain in Francis Townley's Manchester regiment.

*Blood was executed.*

Joseph Inchley/Hinchcliffe of York, tallow chandler.

James Morey of Yorkshire, napkin merchant.

William Parker of Yorkshire.

Christopher Potter of Yorkshire, 19 years old, husbandman, 'on suspicion'.

N.B. Ensign John Daniel of the Pretender's Lifeguards had one Mr Dick, a Yorkshireman, as his servant for part of November and December 1745. Dick disappeared with his horse on the retreat after Derby and is heard of no more.

Sources: PRO, SP36/79, fols 35<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>v</sup>, 38<sup>v</sup>, SP36/81, fol. 314<sup>v</sup>, SP36/84, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>; B. G. Seton and J. G. Arnot, 'Prisoners of the '45', *Scottish History Society*, 3rd series, 15, 3 vols (1928–29), III, pp. 204–05; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16 (1746), p. 399; 'Origins of the Forty Five', ed. W. B. Blaikie, *Scottish History Society*, 2nd series, 2, (1916), p. 182.



## T. D. WHITAKER, 1759–1821: HISTORIAN OF YORKSHIRE AND LANCASHIRE

By Pamela Maryfield

Thomas Dunham Whitaker, antiquarian, historian and topographer, is a fine representative of the gentleman-scholar who graced late-eighteenth-century English society. He might well be compared with Edward Gibbon: a provincial version, perhaps, although he would have found the comparison distasteful. He was privately tutored, educated at Cambridge for a career in law, a fine classicist and linguist and as enthusiastic about the latest Scott novel as he was about his favourite Roman authors, Tacitus and Terence. He belonged to the gentry of east Lancashire, the son of a second son, who, unexpectedly, inherited the small family estate of Holme-in-Cliviger, just south of Burnley, on his brother's death in 1760. Thomas's main achievement was his remarkably prolific writing on the local history of Lancashire and Yorkshire and the respect with which his works have continued to be held. Of his topographical works the first two are the best. These are the *History of Whalley* and the *History of Craven*.<sup>1</sup> He was also a reviewer, sermon-writer, editor and translator.

The Whitaker family was established in the parish of Cliviger, in a dramatic valley between sweeping moorland, early in the fifteenth century. The pedigree begins with Thomas, holding land as a tenant of the Leigh (or Legh) family, ancestors of the Towneleys, in 1431. In the next century, the Whitakers secured and increased their possessions.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Dunham Whitaker was born in Norfolk on 8 June 1759. His father, William, was curate of Raynham on the Townshend estate. His mother, Lucy, was the daughter of Robert Dunham of Sedgford, Norfolk.<sup>3</sup> In 1760, on the death of William's bachelor elder brother, the family moved to Lancashire.

After being educated as a private pupil, first in Rochdale and then at Threshfield School in Wharfedale, Thomas was admitted as a pensioner to St John's College, Cambridge, in 1775,<sup>4</sup> intending to make the law his career. However, the early death of his father, in June 1782, meant he had to assume responsibility for the Holme estate. He married Lucy Thoresby of Leeds in 1783 and devoted the next decade to improving his inheritance, changing the landscape in Cliviger with tree-planting on a massive scale.

In 1785 he was ordained deacon, then priest a year later. Thomas was not assigned to a living but he probably had in mind seeking one in the future in order to provide for a growing family, and he had begun to plan restoring the ruined chapel that gave its name to Holme Chapel. He pulled down the old chapel and rebuilt it on higher ground at a cost of £870, half of which he contributed. When completed, it was consecrated by the Bishop of Chester on 29 July 1794, and Thomas was able to appoint himself as perpetual curate.

Although estate and family matters occupied much of his time and energy, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley*, first published 1801; *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, first published 1805. The short titles are used in the text.

<sup>2</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, 4th edn, 2 vols. (London, 1872 and 1876), II, pp. 203–04.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xiii–xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, I, p. xiv.

was not idle during his first fifteen years at the Holme. He gained a reputation as a preacher and he received a doctorate in law in 1801, becoming Dr Whitaker. He also began collecting materials with the intention of writing a history of the Roman Empire. From 1797, he was busy gathering materials for a history of the ancient parish of Whalley.<sup>5</sup>

His interest in local history had first been aroused at Cambridge, where he came across the 'status de Blagborneshire', a fourteenth-century account devised by Abbot Lindley about the foundation of Whalley and the coming of Christianity to the area. It was a piece of fiction used successfully in a dispute with the Priory of Pontefract but it fired a life-long interest. Dr Whitaker's subject covered a huge parish, similar to many others in the north of England. East to west it stretched over thirty miles and encompassed Accrington, Blackburn, Bowland, Burnley, Colne, Clitheroe, Haslingden and Rochdale.

The title page gives a clue to the sources used. It bears a quotation from Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* as follows:

Antiquities or remnants of History are 'Tanquam tabula Naufragii' [just like planks (or writing-tablets) from a shipwreck: a play on the word *tabula* which has two meanings], when industrious persons . . . out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stones, passages of books . . . do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.

It is an apt summary of the various sources Dr Whitaker used.<sup>6</sup>

He was well-equipped for the task: 'few people have appeared in the field of antiquarian warfare more completely armed'.<sup>7</sup> He was a skilled Latinist and had a sound knowledge of modern languages as well as Old English. The etymology of place names was a passionate interest and was applied to each new entry for a township or area. He was, for instance, interested in whether Whalley was part of Mercia or Northumbria. He argued that the Ribble rather than the Mersey was the old boundary, on the evidence of a preponderance of Northumbrian terms on the Yorkshire side of the Ribble — fell, tarn, beck, gill, wath — giving way to Mercian equivalents — edge, mere, burn (or brook), clough and ford — in Whalley and southwards towards the Mersey.<sup>8</sup>

The Domesday survey was usually the starting point for his description of each township. It was a window on the Saxon world. However, the Saxon period was given scant attention, although he used Bede, Gildas and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to illuminate early Christianity in Whalley. He believed it was a time of weakness and barbarism when Christianity almost disappeared and when the legacy of Roman civilisation was allowed to decay through ignorance and neglect.

For the medieval and later periods he used Leland's *Itinerary*, Camden's *Britannia* and Harrison's *Description*. Above all he turned to the great collections transcribed in the seventeenth century by antiquarian scholars such as Roger Dodsworth and Christopher Towneley. When he died in 1654, Dodsworth had just sent to press his *Monasticon Anglicanum*. He also left materials for a history of Yorkshire (he allegedly visited every church in the county) and for a volume on the English baronage. One of Whitaker's friends, Richard Beaumont of Little Mitton, catalogued and indexed Dodsworth's papers. Other friends among the local gentry opened their collections of papers, family originals as well as transcriptions. These included Richard Heber of Marton-in-Craven, who was a knowledgeable and prolific collector, Stephen Tempest of Broughton Hall, near Skipton, whose family papers were particularly full, and Pudsey Dawson of Bowland. The Clifford

<sup>5</sup> *Wilson's Miscellanies*, ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society, 45 (1857), p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 1st edn (Blackburn, 1801), title page.

<sup>7</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (1822), part 1, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, p. 52.



papers from Skipton and Londesborough were made available through William Carr, incumbent at Bolton Abbey, who also arranged access to the priory's *Comptus*.<sup>9</sup>

Pedigrees were another important source. They were readily available and often eagerly offered, for no topographical work was considered worthy of a subscription if the descents and connections of leading families were not prominently featured. However, Dr Whitaker was keenly conscious that they required critical appraisal. He was well aware of 'vestiges of error and some of fraud . . . which time and vanity have rendered sacred'. He was not prepared to be bribed with the offer of a subscription or the price of an engraving to include what he decried as 'unexamined' pedigrees. Where the source was a herald's visitation and where he could persuade, for example, William Radcliffe, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, to give a pedigree his seal of approval, Dr Whitaker was content to shelve responsibility for the accuracy of pedigrees, being 'happy to be emancipated from the slavery of compiling pedigrees'. Rouge Croix's tart comment was: 'he seems as much out of humour with [pedigrees] as if he were apprehensive that his superior reflecting faculties might be affected'.<sup>10</sup>

Supplementing pedigrees were the inscriptions, memorials, tombs and heraldry in parish churches. Dr Whitaker and his assistant, Samuel Allen, copied many of these to supplement existing collections. The papers he collected and, as he remarked in a preface, the often embarrassing quantity sent to him, many being originals offered without any request, seem to have often overwhelmed even this hard-working researcher.<sup>11</sup> His system seems to have depended on a good memory, quantities of notes on paper, and scribbled marginalia. Occasionally he relied on his unusually good memory for a quotation or inscription that did not come to hand. The result was often a wrong date or name. In correspondence he apologised for delay in replying because he had 'mislaide a multitude of papers'. In 1807, while the second edition of the *History of Craven* was being prepared, eighty pages of the book containing corrections and additions were lost by the publisher. Dr Whitaker had to 'rummage up all the authorities' he could find in order to replace the additional material.<sup>12</sup> He had mislaide the sources he had used. Occasionally there are signs of his being overwhelmed yet reluctant to omit anything. At the conclusion of a discourse on forest law and its application in Bowland he wrote: 'It only remains that we throw together a few miscellaneous facts'.<sup>13</sup>

These criticisms aside, Dr Whitaker was highly respected by contemporaries and successors for his immense scholarship and research and for his style: 'nervous yet elegant, concise yet fluent . . . averse to modern barbarisms and affectations which degrade the English tongue'.<sup>14</sup> Half a century after his death he was praised for the excellent design of his histories and for his 'most animated and vivid pictures of the past'. One of his major achievements was to set topography, that is, local history, into a wider historical context. His descriptive powers were good. He had a keen appreciation of landscape which could be almost Wordsworthian and could convey a scene, a piece of architecture or a human character in a few phrases, 'seizing at once on the chief features'.<sup>15</sup>

All this is in contrast to the contemporary state of antiquarian writing. It had become dull and heavy, consisting of 'dense folios' which were little more than 'transcripts of

<sup>9</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 1st edn (London, 1805), pp. vi-vii.

<sup>10</sup> YAS, MS 95, Volume of letters to William Radcliffe, Rouge Croix . . . relating to Dr Whitaker's Histories . . .

<sup>11</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 1st edn, p. v.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilson's Miscellanies*, p. 193.

<sup>13</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, I, p. 280.

<sup>14</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, II, p. xi.

<sup>15</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (1822), p. 83.



parish registers and title deeds'. From this 'degraded state [Dr Whitaker] has redeemed his favourite study'. Contemporaries praised his relish for natural beauty, his attachment to fine arts and his skill in being moralist, biographer or bard. He was compared with Camden for his use of a few well-chosen epithets and 'by one masterly stroke [conveying] a rapid but finished picture to the mind'<sup>16</sup> His secretary, Allen, declared 'he could dictate his most finished descriptions on the spot'. Allen contrasted the dull, old-fashioned antiquarian writings with Dr Whitaker's works: 'Advocates of the old system may now and then triumph in a trifling inaccuracy or raise a hue and cry against an ambition of being read rather than having compiled'. Dr Whitaker's works were certainly read and continued to be quoted and used.<sup>17</sup>

What set the Whitaker histories apart from most contemporary topography was the massive scholarship and wealth of historical material combined and placed in context. This gave readers a framework of historical change and a sense of causation and outcome. It was written with style: with a feel for the rhythm of language, for a balanced sentence and an appropriate cadence. For modern tastes, the language and syntax may be too complex, formal and too heavily loaded with Latinity, but it spoke easily to a readership entirely grounded in Latin and Greek. His readers would recognise and appreciate the influence of Tacitus: the directness of language, the skill in description, even the temptation to digress. Both had a liking for the occasional epigram. Like his literary hero, Dr Whitaker was not afraid to air his opinions and to draw moral conclusions. It was done with grace and a lightness of touch which carried his readers along his chosen path.

Another historiographical influence whom he admired was Clarendon, 'a great writer who had the fortune to bear a dignified part in the transactions which he records'. In spite of his deep disapproval of Gibbon's scepticism, Dr Whitaker recognised his 'acuteness and erudition' and would have placed him equal with Clarendon and his own near contemporary, David Hume.<sup>18</sup>

In another important respect, the Whitaker histories resemble those of Tacitus. Both make only passing reference to the majority of the population. Dr Whitaker wrote for a very precise and small readership — the gentry, clergy, nobility and those urban professionals and merchants who made up county society. He dealt with their interests, which were landed property, its owners and their descent, and the church and its property, often in lay ownership — rectories, tithes, advowsons and education. This was history neither of nor for the common man. It was history for patrons. Publication was financed by their subscriptions and other contributions, notably the cost of engravings, especially if the author was prepared to accept their choice of subject and artist. Most popular were the family seat, a picturesque view nearby or a prized possession — a family portrait, a Roman or medieval treasure from the private collection, even a prize bull.

For the first edition of the *History of Whalley* (1801) there were 237 individual subscribers, of whom a few ordered two or three copies. Heading the list were the Dukes of Norfolk and Hamilton, and Earl Spencer. The bulk of the list consisted of heads and members of local families whose history appeared in the book. There were a substantial number of clergy, including the Bishops of Durham and Chester, and many friends of Dr Whitaker. A few had a professional interest such as Richard Gough, editor of Camden's *Britannia*, and there was a small group of literary societies such as the Book Society in Colne and circulating libraries in Manchester and Preston. A few names herald the huge

<sup>16</sup> R. V. Taylor, *Leeds Worthies* (London, 1865), pp. 289–90.

<sup>17</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (1822), p. 83.

<sup>18</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, p. lvix.



industrial expansion which was about to transform northern towns: Marshall of Leeds, Feilden of Blackburn and Crossley of Halifax.

The first edition of the *History of Craven* (1805) was dedicated to the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Ribblesdale (a new creation). In his wish to make a mark, the latter contributed no fewer than seven engravings. There is some overlapping with the Whalley list of subscribers, but the names are preponderantly from the gentry and clergy of Craven.

The outline plans of both books give clues to Dr Whitaker's interests and interpretation of his material. Both have an introductory section, which is rather more developed in the Craven volume. The introduction to the *History of Whalley* touched briefly on the geography of the district, in the author's opinion producing an uninteresting landscape, which compared ill with Snowdonia and the Lakes. It consisted of:

a tiresome succession of long and dreary ridges . . . slopes brown and cheerless from which the wearied eye flies . . . Neither is the climate of this tract much more favourable than its general aspect . . . its summer too ungenial, its autumns lost in fog, its grain damp and musty, its fruits crude and mellowed.<sup>19</sup>

Poor Lancashire! With a swipe at other topographers, Dr Whitaker promised no boring perambulations of boundaries but moved on to a chart showing the natural divisions of the area as marked by rivers and prominent fells matched to their civil and ecclesiastical divisions in 1800. The pre-Roman period was dealt with by means of a rapid discourse on British names and their survival in natural features. But one can almost sense his relief when 'We now hasten from a period of barbarism, barren of facts and remains' to the Romans and their 'activity, civilisation and elegance'.<sup>20</sup>

By contrast, the introduction to the *History of Craven* is more confident and assured. Dr Whitaker had an unconcealed preference for the landscape, its greenness gaining added interest from limestone scars and its rugged fells from bands of sandstone and grit. He compared the scenery to a 'bed of native emeralds encrusted with ferruginous matter'.<sup>21</sup> He expressed his personal preferences which attracted him to the subject. These were the areas of Sawley (Salley) and Giggleswick in Ribblesdale, and Bolton Abbey and Kilnsey in Wharfedale. Memories of schooldays and friendships with the incumbents at Giggleswick and Bolton Abbey probably encouraged some of these preferences. After generalisations about the scenery, he referred to settlement patterns. The typical arrangement allowed a share of meadow, cornland, and higher sheep runs to each township. The great rebuilding in stone during the two previous centuries did not escape his observations. He felt that the landscape, especially in Upper Wharfedale, could be improved by tree-planting, using wych elm and beech which grow more quickly than oak. The excessive dry stone walls were described as 'ugly bandages of stone'.<sup>22</sup>

After the economic background, Dr Whitaker dealt deftly with the characteristics of Craven churches, the benefit of having smaller parishes, and the flexibility of their clergy during the seventeenth-century civil wars. Here the notes of Roger Dodsworth, who visited all twenty-five churches in 1620, were of great value. The political scene was brief: no more than a selection of a few points which had particular influence on the area. These included the incidence and impact of Scottish raids and, after the Domesday survey, an explanation of the creation of the Skipton fee. Dr Whitaker may not have shown the skill of the poet Thomas Gray who 'left a few masterly sketches of this interesting country', but he managed to set the scene interestingly enough to invite the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 1st edn, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.



reader to continue. He certainly went some way to emulate Gray, 'who united the eye of a Painter with the fancy of a Poet and the erudition of an Antiquary'.<sup>23</sup>

The usual procedure for a topographer was for each parish to be treated in turn, usually by the method of quoting at length in the original Latin any old documents which had come to the writer's hand. The Whalley volume begins with an area survey of Roman and, to a much lesser extent, Saxon remains. Ribchester and the crosses in the churchyard at Whalley made obvious points of interest. There follow a substantial section on the history of Whalley Abbey; chapters on Clitheroe, the main seat of the Lacy fee in the area; and a section on the forests, which covered a large part of the ancient parish, their medieval importance and administration. Taken together, this comprises half the work.

Each township within the parish of Whalley in 1800 is described, and then the parochial chapelries within the ancient parish are reviewed in turn, township by township. The final section deals with Blackburn and Rochdale, parishes which had been separated from ancient Whalley.

Dr Whitaker's treatment of each area and township varied according to his materials and, one suspects, occasionally according to his personal interest. He could be dismissive: Chipping was 'an obscure and uninteresting place', while Foulridge, on the far north-eastern boundary of the ancient parish, was an 'obscure township and vill'. It merited a dozen lines.<sup>24</sup> The whole of the Rochdale parish received this treatment, while within the parish of Blackburn only a 'few favoured townships' were included. In subsequent editions there was more material available but it was not until the fourth edition, published in two volumes in 1872 and 1876, that the treatment of townships outside the 1800 parish of Whalley was more equitable, 212 pages replacing the original number (sixty-eight). New local material came to light during the intervening years, partly because of the activity of men who would have proudly seen themselves as Dr Whitaker's scholastic successors. Chief among these were Canon F. R. Raines, a founder of the Chetham Society and avid collector of materials on Rochdale, and Thomas Turner Wilkinson of Burnley, 'one of the ablest and most accomplished of Lancashire antiquaries'.<sup>25</sup> The other huge contributor to the fourth edition was the editor, John Gough Nichols, who explored the manuscript collections in the British Museum, which had been almost totally neglected by Dr Whitaker.

A prospectus for a new *History of Craven* was issued in 1802. Dr Whitaker's original plan was to write three chapters on Roman antiquities, religion and the monasteries, and a property survey from Domesday to the union of the Percy and Clifford lands. These were to provide background to the more traditional topographical surveys of the three Craven dales (Ribblesdale, Airedale and Wharfedale). The plan was not adopted; for what reasons, it is not clear. It may well be that Dr Whitaker became inundated by materials, even though he set himself limits. His greatest manuscript and transcript wind-fall was the entire collection from the Richardson library at Bierley Hall, Bradford. This had been a great undertaking by John Richardson Curren with the intention of writing a history of Craven, but he had died in 1784 before he could begin. The collection included 'transcripts of Dodsworth's invaluable fragments relating to Craven' as well as the visitation records of Somerset Herald. This 'immense mass of evidence' was made readily available by Mrs Dorothy Richardson whose 'abundant leisure and extensive knowledge' were apparently also put at Dr Whitaker's disposal.

There is also a sense of abundance in Dr Whitaker's appreciation of the Towneley

<sup>23</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, II, pp. 260-61, 480.

<sup>25</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.



Collection which ‘continued to pour out inexhaustible stores’ and provided many untapped seams. Add to these two more rich collections: a connoisseur’s archive made by that serious and knowledgeable collector, Richard Heber of Marton-in-Craven and Hodnet, Shropshire (this eventually passed into Sir Robert Cotton’s library); and the Clifford archive, part of which had mouldered in the muniment room at Skipton Castle, where it provided nesting material for mice. Ordering, selecting and using such a wealth of materials would be a taxing job for the most skilled and diligent author in a mere three years.<sup>26</sup>

The eventual plan of the new book reverted to the more usual conservative one of a parish-by-parish survey. The twenty-five parishes were grouped in three geographical divisions, Ribblesdale, Airedale and Wharfedale, with one exception. That was the treatment of Skipton within the Wharfedale section in order to deal with the Clifford fee as a whole. This made sense when faced with bringing together the Bolton Abbey sources in the Duke of Devonshire’s care as well as the Skipton and Londesborough papers. It probably avoided repetition and indulged the author by bringing together two of his personal preferences in Craven. The incumbent of Bolton Abbey, William Carr, played a key role in persuading Dr Whitaker to undertake the whole project and persuading the Duke of Devonshire to open the Bolton archive.

The critical reception of both volumes was, in the main, favourable. Richard Gough provided an unusually long review of the *History of Whalley*, mainly made up of quotations, in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (January 1802). He concluded with the hope that readers would

not be displeased with the extended review of a work whose author has shown himself master of all that general knowledge . . . required in an orator and qualified to discuss more at large the various topics which he has handled so judiciously on a smaller scale.

The *Monthly Review* was less complimentary. Dr Whitaker referred to its review as a contemptible account which had not affected his reputation ‘at least in the Country’ where, he maintained, readers judged for themselves and were not taken in by the national press and its reviewers. He recalled the review some years later in a letter to his friend, Thomas Wilson: ‘I understood that some of the Reviews have been sufficiently civil to the *History of Craven*; if the *Monthly* gentry are otherwise . . . I have determined to treat them with silent contempt.’

Again, others were more appreciative of the *History of Craven*. An even longer review in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (December 1805) signalled approval by its length and quotations. The *Eclectic Review* (April 1805) called it ‘one of the most complete and valuable pieces of topography’ and the *British Critic* commented that it was ‘full of interest, information and amusement . . . in no place nor any subject do the writer’s industry of investigation fail or his vivacity of remark relax’.<sup>27</sup>

The success of the two histories, the undoubted satisfaction felt by their author, and the encouragement of his friends persuaded Dr Whitaker to continue writing. It seems he needed little persuasion. The *History of Craven* was hardly in the press when he was eagerly looking to prepare a second edition of the *History of Whalley*. His methods leave much to be desired. He had accumulated more material, so he proposed cancelling several pages of the existing, first edition to make room. ‘By these means’, he explained, ‘a kind of Second Edition will be made up.’ It was issued in 1806 and included most of the original errors but had eight additional engravings. Dr Whitaker found editing and

<sup>26</sup>. Whitaker, *Craven*, 1st edn, pp. v–vii.

<sup>27</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, pp. xvii, xxii.

correcting as tedious as pedigrees.<sup>28</sup> The *History of Craven* was also sufficiently popular to merit a reprinting with fifteen extra plates in 1812. Folios were priced at fifteen guineas, Royal Quarto at five guineas. Such books were designed for the well-to-do. A labourer's wage seldom rose above half a guinea a week.

In January 1809, Dr Whitaker achieved 'the greatest object of [his] wishes': presentation to the living of the parish of Whalley, which was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He felt a strong obligation to reside there for much of the winter. This had the added advantage of making him more accessible to many of his close friends, who were in the habit of meeting monthly as a philosophical circle to discuss a prearranged topic.<sup>29</sup>

It was through members of this circle that he embarked on new literary ventures. Probably at some time in 1807, Richard Beaumont of Little Mitton drew his attention to the Radcliffe letters. These were written by Sir George Radcliffe of Thornhill, Dewsbury, who became secretary to his cousin, Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford. The papers had been found when the Thornhill estate was sold. They were irresistible to Dr Whitaker, providing details of family life, school, university, Inns of Court in a direct, honest and often touching manner. An additional attraction for him was the web of Radcliffe relations — Saviles, Wentworths, Hydes, Towneleys and cognate Radcliffes from the area around Whalley.<sup>30</sup>

The letters begin in 1608 when Sir George had already inherited the title and was sent off to school in Oldham. They continue into early adulthood, when he was briefly an M.P. and then went to York on Wentworth's appointment as Lord President of the Council in the North. They include a few letters from Wentworth to Radcliffe. Dr Whitaker described the early letters as 'artless, simple, expressive of filial duty and reverential affection for tutors'. Typically, he regretted that these sentiments were no more. 'Men may sneer', he continued, but he thought young Sir George was a preferable product of an educational seminary to those of his own day who brought away 'a much greater horror of inelegance than of vice'. His editorial touch was light and restricted to a handful of short, explanatory footnotes. Just occasionally his own views burst free from editorial constraint. Lord Keeper Bacon was 'the glory and shame of that house'; King James's appearance in person in the Court of Star Chamber was 'an instance of [his] pedantic impertinence'. On Sir George's imprisonment by Charles I for refusing to vote for a forced loan in the Parliament of 1626: 'Surely never was so pleasant a picture of a prison. The tranquillity and cheerfulness of the writer's mind, under a restraint which he knew to be illegal, are admirable.'<sup>31</sup>

Richard Heber suggested another editorial task. Among Heber's manuscript collection were two copies of William Langland's fourteenth-century allegorical poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*. The work had remained popular, so there were many manuscripts in circulation until the mid-sixteenth century, when its old-fashioned alliterative verse and West Midland dialect were no longer easily understood. After three prints in 1550, there was only one more in 1561. Dr Whitaker became enthusiastic about preparing the first modern edition and applying his knowledge of the development of English to such a demanding text. In 1810 he was discussing publication with John Murray, and the book came out in 1813.

It consisted of an introduction, a 'perpetual' commentary, an annotation of the text

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

<sup>29</sup> *Wilson's Miscellanies*, p. 201.

<sup>30</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, pp. xxxv–xxxvi, 70.

<sup>31</sup> *The Life and Original Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe, Knt. LL.D.*, ed. T. D. Whitaker (London, 1810).



and a glossary. Textually it was flawed because it relied heavily on the so-called C-text of 1390 and ignored the B-text in Oriel College Library which was used by the next editor, W. W. Skeat. Although Skeat's work challenged and replaced Dr Whitaker's, it did not remove his description of Langland as 'the first English satirist'. It was a limited view and fashions in appreciation change. Twentieth-century scholars and students put more value on Langland's treatment of allegory, placing him alongside Dante, Milton and Blake, than did Dr Whitaker, who considered the allegories 'insipid'. There were many inaccuracies: even Langland was given the first name Robert (derived from his first biographer) instead of William. Some may have been due to editorial carelessness, others the result of an illness which overwhelmed Dr Whitaker in 1811.<sup>32</sup>

The years between the issue of the second edition of the *History of Whalley* in 1806 and the second edition of the *History of Craven* in 1812 were fruitful ones in Dr Whitaker's literary output. While he was searching for a major new enterprise, he also considered a volume on abbeys and castles of Yorkshire with three plates by William Westall devoted to each building. His contribution was to be a detailed description. One only was completed, on Rievaulx Abbey, and published in 1820. The scheme proved too expensive, and one suspects that Dr Whitaker did not feel sufficiently challenged by what was essentially a coffee-table book. Another scheme, which also foundered on expense, was to produce a new edition of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.<sup>33</sup>

At the end of the second edition of the *History of Craven*, he wrote rather sadly and wistfully about his exhaustion in researching and writing his two histories, and what remained to be done. In his imagination he was standing on Cold Keld Heads, in one direction seeing Craven, but turning in another he viewed 'the valleys and plains of Richmondshire stretch like a map before . . . Time has been when such a scene might have inspired and dictated another work'. However, increasing years and declining health, together with the demands of duty 'compel [me] to resign an *History of Richmondshire* to a younger and more vigorous Antiquary'.<sup>34</sup> He went off for a change of air and scene to John Marshall's country home on Ullswater, where, as he recovered his spirits, he may well have enthused the Marshall family with the Richmondshire scheme.<sup>35</sup> His 'retirement' was very brief. Nor does he appear to have relaxed totally during the illness. Between November 1810 and May 1811 he produced three substantial review articles for the *Quarterly*. He seemed well-endowed with a sufficiency of the two qualities a true topographer must possess: 'namely Perseverance and Enthusiasm'.<sup>36</sup>

Serious preparation for the *History of Richmondshire* did not begin until 1816. Publishers in Leeds and Wakefield were keen to produce a new edition of Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, first published in 1715, as a grand folio in what was fast becoming a very fashionable style. Dr Whitaker was asked to produce the new edition, bringing it more up-to-date, and to write a memoir of Thoresby. He found the task frustrating, as he confessed to his correspondent William Radcliffe at the College of Arms. He described the new edition as 'confirmation' of Thoresby's work which was 'so defective in some parts and so redundant in others'. He determined to produce a companion volume when he had almost completed work on the *Ducatus* in 1814. Requests for materials on pedigrees, their more recent extensions and other related collections, which would cover the area of the new Leeds history, rained in on William Radcliffe. Even the librarian at the Leeds

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii; Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, transl. J. F. Goodridge (London, 1966), p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

<sup>34</sup> Whitaker, *Craven*, 2nd edn (London, 1812), p. 507.

<sup>35</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, p. xxiv.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxv.



Library was pressed into secretarial service to obtain continuation pedigrees for the Howards, the Saviles of Methley, and the Ingrams of Temple Newsam.<sup>37</sup>

*Loidis and Elmete* was so entitled in order to recall the ancient Celtic kingdoms and Bede's definition of the lower stretches of the rivers Aire, Wharfe and Calder. It was arranged in the same orderly pattern of the two earlier histories. Leeds took pride of place, with prominence given to the parish church and then the newer foundations, St John's, Holy Trinity, St Paul's and St James's. The emphasis was on the development of the town in the eighteenth century and new developments such as turnpikes and representation in Parliament, together with the author's digressions on the virtues of magistrates (he was a JP for the West Riding), the dangers of faster transport, drunken drivers and the lower orders, 'never prudent and not always sober'.<sup>38</sup>

The immediate neighbourhood of Leeds was next described in parishes and townships, moving outwards geographically to cover the remaining parishes in the area with the usual care to describe leading families, their houses and estates. Regret and fearfulness echo in the contrasts drawn between some of Leeds's satellite villages in the past and present, i.e. the early nineteenth century. Readers were reminded that Hunslet had had a great manor house and park: 'quiet, cleanliness and repose . . . a slender and obsequious population . . . I need not expose the contrast'.<sup>39</sup> The book was issued in parts between 1816 and 1820.

All the while that he was working on the Leeds volumes, Dr Whitaker was also collecting materials for the Lonsdale book, preparing for a third edition of the *History of Whalley* and planning the next major project. This was a grandiose scheme for a general history of Yorkshire. Already he reckoned that he had covered about one quarter of the county with the Craven and Leeds volumes. He thought another seven volumes would complete coverage of the whole county. In February 1816 a prospectus for the proposal appeared with a list of fifty-seven subscribers for the folio format and eighty-one for 'the small paper'. Dr Whitaker's publisher and subsequent editor called it 'one of the most remarkable effusions that ever proceeded either from the pen of Dr Whitaker or from any other literary projector, however confident and ambitious'.<sup>40</sup>

The prospectus, which was unusually long at about 3000 words, gives some insight into Dr Whitaker's priorities and method. First, he promised selectivity in the use of material: making judgements about which matters were 'really important' and should have prominence over others. Then he promised that the sources would be original and appealed to members of 'ancient and noble families' to make available their records. Further, he would personally be visiting, surveying and checking each parish. Nor would he take anything on trust. 'He will see everything with his own eyes; he will make minutes on the spot.' He undertook to do more than 'give a tolerable view of the ruins of a religious house, the name of the founder, the date of the foundation, with the manors and carucates which it possessed, in faithful and dull detail'. (Another swipe at the tedious school of topography!) Rather, he aimed at going beyond the 'body', the physical description of the monastery, to examine the life of its 'soul'. In this passage Dr Whitaker was moving towards including social and intellectual history within a descriptive narrative.

The expansive tone of the Prospectus continued with a catalogue of items to be included: the entire text of Domesday, Leland's *Itinerary* and portions of Camden. Pedigrees would have 'received the stamp of official authority', because they would either

<sup>37</sup>. YAS, MS 95.

<sup>38</sup>. T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (London, 1816), p. 61.

<sup>39</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>40</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, p. xxvi.



have been compiled or revised and checked ‘by one of the most skilful genealogists in the kingdom’, William Radcliffe, Rouge Croix Pursuivant. Epitaphs and inscriptions would be selectively used according to the elegance of their composition and the distinction of the subject. ‘Prolix . . . compositions on inconsiderable persons’ would certainly not be included. There is a frisson of quiet triumph when the illustrations are described. No expense would be spared. ‘It is sufficient to name J. M. W. Turner, esq. R. A.’ The engravings would be numerous and accurate and do justice to the detail and inscriptions on antiquities instead of the more usual ‘miserable scratches’. Folio editions were priced at four guineas, large paper at two.<sup>41</sup>

In 1816 Dr Whitaker prepared to make a tour into the North Riding to do his field work on Richmondshire and, as he had promised in his prospectus, to ‘take nothing on trust’. He requested copies of inscriptions in the visitation books of earlier heralds, in particular, Glover and Dugdale. He wanted pedigrees and a list of churches in Wensleydale. Some of the work was taken up by Samuel J. Allen of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Dr Whitaker’s assistant, who was paid £100 per annum by Longmans.<sup>42</sup>

The summer tour did not go as planned. It was a particularly wet one, and Dr Whitaker undertook too much even for his energy and enthusiasm. He had to apologise to James Raine, editor of the Surtees Society, for not keeping an appointment. Instead, books on pedigrees for the Hundreds of East and West Gilling were sent by post to Holme. Raine was a little anxious. ‘I am afraid Dr Whitaker has a mortal dislike to pedigree’, he confided, rather unnecessarily, to William Radcliffe.<sup>43</sup>

The next year another North Riding tour was arranged, probably to make up for what had been lost to the weather in the dreadful summer of 1816. Allen recalled the experience many years later, writing from his Easingwold vicarage to Canon Raine. ‘I had the high pleasure a few weeks ago of shewing the vicar of Whalley Rivaulx [*sic*] and other objects in this neighbourhood, which I first saw with his Father in 1817.’<sup>44</sup> No details of the tours survive, but the many vivid descriptions of scenery and architecture in the Richmondshire volumes suggest that some intensive sight-seeing and note-taking was undertaken. Dr Whitaker’s appointment as Rector of Heysham, Lancashire, gave many other opportunities for the two men to carry out similar field-work for the history of Lonsdale and Furness.<sup>45</sup>

The Richmondshire volumes were the second of Dr Whitaker’s works in which he worked with Turner. In 1799, when work on the *History of Whalley* was well advanced, Charles Towneley engaged the rising young artist ‘to go to Lancashire to make drawings, etc. for a publication’. The Whalley commission did not go well for Turner. He stayed at the Holme, from where he could travel easily to Clitheroe, Whalley, Mitton, Browsholme, Stonyhurst and Towneley Hall. Difficulties arose because patrons who were sponsoring particular illustrations did not always appreciate Turner’s interpretation. One such episode is preserved in a rare autograph letter from Dr Whitaker to his close friend, the Revd Thomas Wilson.

I have just now a ludicrous dispute to settle between Mr Towneley, myself and Turner the Draftsman. Mr Towneley, it seems has found out an old and very bad painting of Gawthorpe at Mr Shuttleworth’s house in London, as it stood in the last century, with all its contemporary accompaniments of clipped yews, Parterres etc. and this he insisted would be more characteristic than Turner’s own sketches which he desired to lay aside and copy the other. Turner, abhorring

<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi–xxix.

<sup>42</sup>. J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part II, 1752–1910, 1 (Cambridge, 1940).

<sup>43</sup>. YAS, MS 95.

<sup>44</sup>. Chetham’s Library, Manchester, Mun. A. 4. 43, S. J. Allen to Canon F. R. Raine, June 1852.

<sup>45</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, 1, pp. xlv–xlvi.



the Landscape and condemning the Execution of it, refused to comply and wrote to me very tragically upon the subject . . . Next arrived a letter from Mr Towneley so commending it to me to allow Turner to take his own way but while he wrote his Mind (which is not infrequent) veered about and he concluded with desiring me to urge Turner to the Performance of *his* Requisition, as from myself . . . I have, however, attempted something like a compromise which I fear will not succeed as Turner has all the Irritability of youthful Genius . . .<sup>46</sup>

Dr Whitaker was right in his fear of failing to settle the dispute sensibly. Mr Towneley's choice won the day and the 'very bad painting of Gawthorpe' appeared in the *History of Whalley*. In the end, only eight of Turner's paintings were used and even these were not shown to their best in Basire's engravings. The other illustrations were by amateurs, a triumph for the power of patronage and the limited artistic taste of the patrons.

Such a grand scheme as outlined in the 1816 *Prospectus* needed more than Dr Whitaker's enthusiasm. It was backed by a contract with Longman's and Hurst, Robinson and Co., the publishers of Thoresby's *Ducatus* and Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*. The two publishers bought the rights to the *History of Craven* from Edwards of Halifax and shared the venture, the larger commitment (75 per cent) being Longman's. Dr Whitaker was contracted for £1 per page and Allen for an annual salary of £100, and Turner was to be paid 3000 guineas for 120 watercolours. An advisory committee, which included James Raine and the Richmond schoolmaster, James Tate, was set up to choose the subjects for illustration. The contract proved unprofitable and was cancelled on Dr Whitaker's death in 1821, by which time Turner had produced twenty drawings. Some were already sketched from earlier tours.<sup>47</sup>

Turner made Farnley Hall his headquarters, spent a wet week at Browsholme with that other dedicated art collector, Thomas Lister Parker, and then accompanied the Browsholme house-party to Malham. Mrs Fawkes wrote in her diary: 'got to Malham village. Dreadful rain'. The following day, 25 July, they 'went to see Gordale waterfall. Returned home — Heavy rain, Turner went on a sketching tour'. Turner's tour took him over the moors to Kilnsey; then from Upper Wharfedale into Wensleydale, where he sketched waterfalls at Mossdale, Hardraw and Aysgarth, as well as a magical Semerwater, interpreted in shimmering light, although his sight of it must have been sodden underfoot and leaden overhead. From Castle Bolton he went over the moors into Swaledale and on to Richmond. He wrote to his friend, James Holworthy of Hathersage: 'Weather miserably wet. I shall be web-foot, like a Drake.' He went on north to Aske Hall, Rokeby, Barnard Castle and up Teesdale whence his journey became 'bogged most completely, Horse and its Rider, and nine hours making 11 miles'. The return trip took him westward across the northern Pennines to Appleby and Kendal, across Morecambe Bay to the Lune Valley, then Kirby Lonsdale and back to Farnley.<sup>48</sup>

The Turner illustrations continue to make the *History of Richmondshire* valued by collectors. They are among his finest works in water-colour, showing mastery in composition of landscape (*The Crook of Lune*) the transforming light of early morning or sunset (*Kirby Lonsdale Churchyard* and *Semerwater*) and the varied movement and form of water (*Hardraw Force* and *Weathercote Cave*).<sup>49</sup> Apart from the appreciation of the young Turner's skill indicated in the letter to Thomas Wilson, Dr Whitaker has left no other comments on the work of the great artist who interpreted the landscape and architectural treasures of

<sup>46</sup>. Chetham's Library, Mun. A. 4. 43.

<sup>47</sup>. University of Reading Archives Department, Longman's Archive, 2D, pp. 120–23, 252–54 and 1A, 243, 426–34.

<sup>48</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *Turner and Dr Whitaker*, Catalogue of an Exhibition held at Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museums, Burnley, 1982, pp. 39–40.

<sup>49</sup>. Eric Shanes, *Turner, The Great Watercolours* (London, 2001), Cat. 30–33.



Yorkshire. His text hardly mirrors or complements the artist's work. An exception is Hardraw Force, near Hawes in Wensleydale, about which he wrote quite expansively, mixing geological data and picturesque description in the same sentence. He explained the hardness of the rock edge from which the fall begins and the 'perpetually decomposing' schistus beneath which widened 'the interval between the face of the rock and this vast column of liquid crystal'.<sup>50</sup> Otherwise he was surprisingly mundane and even dismissive. The Semerwater scenery 'though superior to Malham [was] not to be compared with the meanest of the great Cumberland lakes'.<sup>51</sup> At Richmond, Turner provided two views, one *from the North-East* and the *Castle and Town from the South, with Richmond Bridge*. Dr Whitaker commented that he was 'astonished at the supineness of our ancestors' using the steep descent into Richmond from the north 'when the short rectilinear and level approach which has lately been adopted presented itself to every eye'.<sup>52</sup> There is a short account of Rokeby Park, the home of John Morritt and his art collection and the inspiration of Sir Walter Scott's poem, *Rokeby*. Dr Whitaker allowed himself to describe it as 'one of the most enchanting residences in the north of England' and to compare the landscape favourably with Cumberland. The didactic element in his character came out in his explanation that he would have spared himself any words after 'Mr Scott's beautiful description . . . had not poetry . . . been to a certain degree inaccurate and indistinct'.<sup>53</sup>

However, Dr Whitaker's prose could, on occasion, take flight. Of his home patch, Cliviger, he writes with familiarity and immediacy of the great expanse of country marked out by Pennine fells and scars: 'to the north almost the whole expanse of Craven, with the rocks of Settle, Malham, and Gordale, both Whernsides, Ingleborough, Penyghent, Cam and Graygreth Fell, north of Kirby Lonsdale; to the west and north-west Bowland, with its range of fells . . . part of the Fylde, with the western sea; and in a sunny evening, when the tide is in, a noble expanse of the estuary of Ribble like a sheet of gold'.<sup>54</sup> He brings to life the passage of Lacies and Plantagenets over the nearby Long Causeway leading from Yorkshire into Lancashire, as they made their progress from Pontefract to Clitheroe and Lancaster. 'What trains of sumpter-horses must, upon these occasions, have been seen traversing these boggy waters, impassable at that time for carriages'.<sup>55</sup>

He had a keen awareness of landscape, its characteristics, those features which, when absent, caused the whole picture to change and the subtlety of colours, particularly in the Pennines. In his crisp description of Wensleydale he identifies a change in character at Aysgarth. He saw similarities to Upper Wharfedale, but the outlines were bolder, the expanse wider and the main features more diversified. He preferred these 'green meadows, the tufts of luxuriant wood, the grey stone fences'. He thought the 'ridges of white rock and above, the calcareous strata of brown and purple fell . . . [gave] a sober and solemn colouring to a picture which (in sun) would be too light and garish'.<sup>56</sup> Brimham Rocks near Ripon were, he thought, 'striking proof of the supremacy of nature' over art and if they could be transported to Salisbury Plain 'would reduce Stonehenge itself to a poor and pygmy miniature'.<sup>57</sup> He was equally enthusiastic about the beauties of Lonsdale, 'unrivalled among northern valleys', but he made an exception of three miles in the

<sup>50</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *History of Richmondshire*, 2 vols (London, 1823), I, p. 413.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, II, pp. 217–18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>56</sup> Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, I, p. 372.

<sup>57</sup> Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, II, p. 114.

course of the Wharfe to which even 'Lunesdale offers no parallel'. He was referring to the stretch of river from Bolton Bridge to Barden.<sup>58</sup>

Dr Whitaker was equally at ease with architectural descriptions. Browsholme, in the Forest of Bowland, was presented as a

large house of red stone, with a centre, two wings and a small facade in front of that species which was peculiar to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I . . . The interior space was one room, called the Hall, in extent 68 feet long, 23 wide and 12 high: its roof a fine example of the good beams and timber then used for floors and ceilings. There were two large fire-places, and some plain, massy oaken tables, the reliques of old English hospitality. The principal staircase went out of this hall, and was curiously carved in oak.

In a further six lines, he adds a clear account of the composition of the two wings. It is all a model of economy and Pevsner-like clarity.<sup>59</sup>

Scientific observations came as fluently from Dr Whitaker's pen as descriptive prose. For the third edition of the *History of Whalley* he wrote a detailed, closely argued essay on the geology of Cliviger, challenging those geologists who argued that the landscape, with its deep cloughs and sudden waterfalls, had been created by the activity of water. Using the general principles of a French geologist, Le Duc, and his own observations, Dr Whitaker argued the case for the creation of the Cliviger landscape by a fault in the rock strata.<sup>60</sup> Throughout the histories, he noted particulars of geology and usually went on to link surface rocks with typical vegetation. The *History of Craven* had an appendix, contributed by Samuel Hailstone, the leading authority on Yorkshire flora, listing the rarer plants and their sites in Craven. Hailstone may have volunteered his services; it is just possible that his elder brother had been acquainted with Dr Whitaker at Cambridge. The Richmondshire volumes have lists of flora, birds, fish and insects. The birds are headed by the osprey and one example of the sighting of a stormy petrel at Appersett, Wensleydale, is mentioned.

For all its virtuosity in language and content, the *History of Richmondshire* was a disappointment. First, it suffered by being incomplete at the time of Dr Whitaker's death in December 1821. It had been issued in parts, beginning in 1819. By 1821 seven had been published, leaving five more for the publishers, Longman's, to see through the press. The materials had been gathered together, so S. J. Allen was asked to complete the work, which covered the valleys of the lower Swale and Ure and the towns of Bedale and Masham. The rest of what became volume two of the *History of Richmondshire* was the long-prepared history of Lonsdale with Ewecross and Amunderness. The former had been part of the Mowbray fee, perhaps the reason why for a time it remained separate from the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was the area between Mallerstang in the north, Penyghent in the south and the Forest of Bowland to the west. Amunderness was south of Lonsdale, between the Ribble and the Hodder rivers, and included Preston and Ribchester. It was a survival of the post-conquest period before the county of Lancashire was formed.

The critics were unimpressed. Robert Surtees wrote to James Raine in February 1822 before the whole work was complete: 'I lament that Whitaker's last work on such a gallant subject is so meagre'. It was felt that because of Whitaker's mighty reputation this inadequate and inaccurate work (the errata table was of 'unprecedented length') would be an obstacle to other attempts on the subject. It was, wrote Surtees, a 'mere account of parochial churches and fonts, with scattered touches of landscape and reflec-

<sup>58</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-04.

<sup>59</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, I, p. 336.

<sup>60</sup>. Whitaker, *Whalley*, 4th edn, II, p. 238.



tions here and there . . . which recall the best days of Whitaker to mind'. Proper tribute was paid to Dr Whitaker's scholarship and taste in the *Retrospective Review* for 1824, which mentioned 'the author's high reputation and acknowledged talent' as well as the 'splendid' typography and graphic illustrations, yet the volumes 'have fallen so short of the expectations of readers'.<sup>61</sup>

Dr Whitaker's histories were his greatest legacy. They stand at a watershed in historical research and writing. On the one hand, he restored the reputation of topography with his thorough research and elegant style. He was one of the last antiquarians in William Camden's mould, combining history based on original materials with a topographical survey of manors, vills and parishes, all presented with classical elegance.

However, fashions were already changing. The popular demand among the leisured classes was for lavish, illustrated surveys which featured romantic, picturesque scenery. One such was *The Beauties of England and Wales* by E. W. Bayley and John Britton in twenty-five volumes. One of Dr Whitaker's contemporaries, William Hutchinson, assembled two volumes on Cumberland (1794–97) featuring geology, botany and a description of the newly fashionable Lake District at the expense of history. It was deplored for its poor style by Richard Gough.<sup>62</sup>

There was little serious work on Yorkshire in Dr Whitaker's lifetime so his writing stands out the more. In Lancashire, Thomas West's *Antiquities of Furness* (1774) compares well with the *History of Whalley*. Unlike Dr Whitaker, West used materials from collections in the British Museum, but like him he included comments on the local economy and social conditions. Dr John Aiken's *Description of the Country for 30 to 40 miles round Manchester* (1795) was 'refreshingly free of the gentry'. Aiken was a product of the Warrington Academy for dissenters and concerned himself with writing local history which explained the growth of industry and urbanisation, the twin forces then transforming Lancashire south of Lonsdale. It was a history which broke away from the traditional approach much more boldly than did Dr Whitaker.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, Dr Whitaker showed the way to modern local studies. His work stood the test of time, with new editions of the *History of Whalley* and the *History of Craven* being published in 1872–76 and 1878 respectively, and a reprint of the latter in 1973. His research and enthusiasm also inspired a succession of researchers, scholars and local historians who built on his work.<sup>64</sup>

#### EDITORS' NOTE

A second article, 'T. D. Whitaker: Gentleman, Cleric and Magistrate', will be published in the next volume.

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## THE DEWHURSTS OF SKIPTON: A DYNASTY OF COTTON MASTERS 1789 TO 1897

By Kenneth C. Jackson

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The brand name 'Sylko' was adopted early in the twentieth century by the English Sewing Cotton Company to promote the mercerised cotton sewing thread manufactured by its subsidiary John Dewhurst & Sons of Skipton. Subsequently, the advertising slogan 'Sew it with Sylko' became well known throughout the UK and abroad.

The Dewhurst family's connection with cotton textiles extends back to at least 1789, with some previous involvement in the merchanting of wool fibre and yarns. Agricultural activity, based mainly in the Craven Lowlands to the west of Skipton, provided a living for earlier generations. In 1828 a steam-powered factory known as Belle Vue Mill<sup>1</sup> was established in Skipton, and this was subsequently extended in stages as its proprietors grasped diversification opportunities and developed the skills needed to manage an increasingly large and complex enterprise. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the mill was by far the largest in the town.<sup>2</sup>

During the mid-nineteenth century, Belle Vue Mills were operated, partially, as an integrated cotton spinning and weaving establishment, but during the period after the American Civil War this form of organisation became increasingly unprofitable in Craven. The Dewhursts also supplied the worsted trade with cotton warps, but by the 1860s this source of demand was declining. The launch of the sewing thread business in 1871 was therefore timely. However, by the 1890s strong competition in the sewing thread market resulted in amalgamations, including the formation of the English Sewing Cotton Company in 1897, of which John Dewhurst & Sons was one of the founding members. Under the ownership of this company and its successors, sewing thread production continued at Belle Vue Mills until 1983.

This article examines the development of the Dewhursts' business up to 1897 and explains how a family of tenant farmers accumulated industrial capital, thereby acquiring commercial influence and social standing. An account of Dewhurst family history is given in the Appendix.

The writer is not aware of any surviving business records of the firm apart from those mentioned in the notes and references.

### 2. FROM FARM TO FACTORY, 1789 TO 1828

It has been postulated that industrialisation is a two-stage process. Initially, there is a spread of rural domestic manufacturing for distant markets and this is followed by the adoption of factory-based capital-intensive mechanisation. The first of these stages, known as proto-industrialisation, is one in which capital is increased, business and manufacturing

<sup>1</sup> The facility became known as Belle Vue Mills after additional buildings were constructed.

<sup>2</sup> For the development of the cotton industry in Skipton see K. C. Jackson, 'The Textile Industry in Nineteenth Century Skipton', *Yorkshire History Quarterly*, 4.1 (Aug. 1998), pp. 15–20, 4.2 (Nov. 1998), pp. 55–58; K. C. Jackson, 'The Sidgwicks of Skipton: the Rise and Fall of a Family Firm', *YAJ*, 73 (2001), pp. 133–53.

skills are acquired and marketing arrangements are developed. The business may also become geographically dispersed leading to increasing difficulties of management.<sup>3</sup> During their first forty years in the cotton trade, the Dewhursts' business had many of these characteristics except that as cotton spinners they used factory-based, power-operated machinery from the outset. However, as calico manufacturers they were necessarily dependent on handloom weaving, substantially on the putting-out system.

Before 1785 Thomas Dewhurst of Marton near Skipton was selling wool and buying yarn for the use of local handloom weavers.<sup>4</sup> Darlington, which at this time had both a well-established woollen and worsted industry and a successful bank serving the needs of the industry, was one of his principal markets.<sup>5</sup> In 1789 he leased a building at Elslack near Skipton (NGR: SD 936 490) which he converted into a water-powered cotton spinning mill. The mill was operating early in 1790, and its output was sold outside the local area, principally in Manchester and Blackburn. The yarn was described as 'twist' (that is, warp yarn) which suggests the use of Arkwright-type spinning frames.<sup>6</sup> By 1803 Thomas Dewhurst was described as a calico manufacturer and this implies that as well as serving external markets for yarn he was also either employing or commissioning work from handloom weavers.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas was the only one of three brothers from a family of tenant farmers to combine textiles with agriculture (see Appendix) and it is of interest to consider his motives and opportunities. The patents on Arkwright's spinning system ceased to be effective in 1785, and subsequently there was a rapid increase in factory construction in anticipation of high profits.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Dewhurst was one of the earlier adopters in West Craven, although by 1789 well-established businesses already existed in Skipton and in Settle.<sup>9</sup>

Changes in the agricultural economy are also of relevance. During the 1770s the expansion of corn production in the Vale of York created an abundance of corn to which farmers in Craven responded by shifting from arable to pasture. They found that high prices for wool and meat provided a better income than would be available by competing in the market for corn.<sup>10</sup> Corn production did not cease entirely as has sometimes been implied, and as late as 1861 the Skipton local newspaper considered it worthwhile to assess the prospects for the local cereal harvest.<sup>11</sup> Neither did corn milling cease and some undertakings may have benefited from the growth of the corn market in Skipton during the late eighteenth century. Several small water corn mills operated in the locality until at least the 1870s and a large steam-powered facility was built at Skipton in 1847.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, there was a good deal of surplus capacity giving rise to cheap factory

<sup>3</sup> F. F. Mendels, 'Proto-industrialisation: the First Phase of the Industrialisation Process', *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972), summarised in Pat Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1992), p. 27. Although the model put forward by Mendels is not of universal application, it has provided a useful framework in this study.

<sup>4</sup> *Craven Herald*, 24 Sept. 1897.

<sup>5</sup> M. W. Kirby, *Men of Business and Politics: the Rise and Fall of the Quaker Pease Dynasty of North-East England, 1700-1943*, (London, 1984), pp. 2 and 3. It is a matter of conjecture as to whether Thomas Dewhurst was in any way connected with the Pease woollen firm, perhaps as an agent under their putting-out arrangements.

<sup>6</sup> *Craven Herald*, 24 Sept. 1897. The site of the mill is now occupied by a house. Earthworks from the watercourses are visible.

<sup>7</sup> *The Craven Muster Roll 1803*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications No. 9 (Northallerton, 1976), p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Michael M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780-1815* (Manchester, 1967), p. 182.

<sup>9</sup> See G. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton: The Yorkshire Cotton Industry 1780-1835* (Preston, 1997), chapters 15 and 18.

<sup>10</sup> A. and S. E. Raistrick, *Skipton: a Study in Site Value* (Newtown, Montgomeryshire, 1930), p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Craven Pioneer*, 17 Aug. 1861.

<sup>12</sup> Active corn mills were offered for sale or let during the 1870s at Broughton, Hebden and Long Preston (see *Craven Pioneer*, 5 Sept. 1874, 12 April 1877 and 11 Aug. 1877). *Craven Pioneer*, 24 Oct. 1874, describes the contemporary corn milling industry.



accommodation which could be adapted for cotton spinning with relative ease. It is probable that the Elslack mill became available in this way.

According to a contemporary account, the shift from arable to pastoral farming reduced labour requirements in agriculture as well as leading to the amalgamation of farms.<sup>13</sup> Cotton textiles provided alternative employment for agricultural labourers as well as making use of existing skills derived from the weaving of wool. In the Craven Lowlands, there was also the opportunity for farmers to expand wool output for sale outside the local area and it was in this way Thomas Dewhurst started a career in textiles alongside farming. However, during and after the 1780s competition from cotton encouraged a shift in emphasis towards cotton spinning.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, it is worth pointing out that several farming neighbours had taken an interest in corn milling thereby developing a familiarity with a commercial and operating context much more akin to manufacturing than to agriculture.<sup>15</sup> This involvement may have been a further influence on Thomas Dewhurst's decision to move from sales of fibre to sales of yarn.

These were the circumstances of Thomas Dewhurst's early career. His brothers continued solely in agriculture. Whether Thomas as the youngest brother was disadvantaged in farming and therefore found it necessary to diversify, or whether he possessed an innovative flair which was not shared by the rest of his family, is impossible to say. However, his parallel interest in farming continued and in 1800 he purchased a farm at Pickhill (also known as Pighill) (NGR: SD 927 498) in the parish of Thornton but close to Elslack, and moved there from Marton. This was the first property transaction by a member of the family to be recorded at the West Riding Registry of Deeds.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, there is no evidence of the property being used to secure a loan and it therefore seems safe to assume that Thomas Dewhurst was by now operating a successful business with a proportion of its income being diverted back into farming.

By 1803 his nephew, Isaac, had taken responsibility for superintending the mill (see Appendix). Also, according to Ingle, by 1801 the business was styled as Wilson & Dewhurst, implying that additional capital had been raised and, conceivably, that additional technical or management skills had been acquired.<sup>17</sup> Only the surname of the partner is stated. However, it may be relevant that in 1793 a John Wilson was available to meet prospective purchasers of a horse-powered mule spinning mill in Skipton.<sup>18</sup> Then in 1828 Eleanor, the youngest daughter of Thomas Dewhurst, married Henry, son of John Wilson of Embsay, cotton spinner.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that this John Wilson was Thomas Dewhurst's partner.

From 1813 to 1816 Thomas was in partnership with his three sons, John, Isaac and

<sup>13</sup>. 'Vale of Skipton', observations by a Craven farmer in 1793 contained in Robert Brown, *View of the Agriculture of the West Riding* (1799) and quoted in W. H. Dawson, *History of Skipton* (Skipton, 1882), pp. 272–73.

<sup>14</sup>. See Edwards, *British Cotton Trade*, pp. 32–34.

<sup>15</sup>. William Edmundson of Skeldaw near Marton, George Smith of Thornton Hall, Robert Hargreaves of Earby, and John Marshall of Broughton Field were partners in a water corn mill at Colne during the 1780s. See Lancashire Record Office (LRO), Badgery Deposits, DDBd 14/29/7 to 16, Colne Water Corn Mills. Note also the case of the England family of Broughton (later of Colne), where the adoption of corn milling was an intermediate stage in the transition from farming to cotton spinning. See *Muster Roll* p. 16, Dorothy Harrison, *The History of Colne* (Barrowford, 1988), p. 190, and Julie M. Hall, 'A History of Stanley Mills' (unpublished MS held at Colne Local Studies Library, 1987).

<sup>16</sup>. West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, West Riding Registry of Deeds (WRRD), Book EC, p. 630, No. 955, 23 and 24 March 1800.

<sup>17</sup>. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 189.

<sup>18</sup>. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 Dec. 1793.

<sup>19</sup>. North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO), Skipton (Holy Trinity) Parish Registers (PR).



James, trading as Thomas Dewhurst & Sons, the previous partnership having ended.<sup>20</sup> Thereafter, he retired to Skipton and the business was restyled as John Dewhurst & Bros. On his death in 1820, the property at Pickhill was inherited by John Dewhurst and sold to Stephen Tempest of Broughton Hall.<sup>21</sup> The will provided an annuity of £50 for his wife, Ellen, and, subject to assurances that the annuity would be paid, £500 each to his daughters Nancy and Eleanor. The residue was divided between his sons, with previous advances and payments being reckoned as part of the legacy.<sup>22</sup> This wording may suggest that Thomas had assisted in the expansion of the business during his retirement.

At some time between 1813 and 1816, the partners leased two adjacent water-powered cotton mills at Sandbank and Mill Holme, Embsay (NGR: SE 006 534).<sup>23</sup> These were purpose-built structures, dating from the early 1790s, set in a community which by the early nineteenth century had developed a close association with the cotton industry.<sup>24</sup> A survey of deeds and parish register entries confirms that both John and James Dewhurst relocated to Embsay in 1816. Isaac continued to live at Pickhill until at least 1817, which perhaps suggests that the Elslack mill was still working at this time. If so, it was in its final stages of operation.

In 1816 John Dewhurst (as distinct from John Dewhurst & Bros) acquired a house and other property on the corner of Newmarket Street and Back Lane (now Bunker's Hill) in Skipton (NGR: SD 993 516) from Samuel Atkinson of Manchester.<sup>25</sup> Conceivably, these assets were purchased or inherited from his first wife's family. A subsequent indenture dated 1832 refers to a warehouse on the site. This is also mentioned in a newspaper report of a burglary which occurred in 1818.<sup>26</sup> In the report the Dewhursts are described as calico manufacturers (as was Thomas Dewhurst in 1803), and one of the functions of the warehouse was to store fabric. It is not known whether the business had its own handloom weaving facility at this stage or whether it was reliant on the putting-out system. Manchester, where the partners had the use of a warehouse in High Street, continued to be the principal market.<sup>27</sup> The Newmarket Street site in Skipton was retained by John Dewhurst until 1852 when it was sold. By this time the warehouse had been converted into cottages.<sup>28</sup>

The business was expanded further in 1819 when the lease of an existing cotton mill at Scalegill near Kirkby Malham (NGR: SD 899 617) was acquired.<sup>29</sup> This had been opened in 1792 as a conversion of a corn mill but was then rebuilt in 1795.<sup>30</sup> Evidently the Dewhursts spent a considerable sum on re-equipping the facility. Isaac Dewhurst, cousin of John, Isaac and James, was appointed as manager until his death in 1823 (see Appendix).

James Dewhurst died in 1820 leaving an estate worth £4000, more than twice that of his father, who had died earlier the same year, although not all of James's estate was

<sup>20</sup>. Partnership names are set out in *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 12 Feb. 1886. Reported from business records which are now no longer available.

<sup>21</sup>. WRRD, HF, p. 525, No. 596, 3 and 4 April 1820. The present day Tempest Arms Hotel is located at Pickhill.

<sup>22</sup>. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Probate Register, 166, No. 158, March 1821.

<sup>23</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 24 Sept. 1897. Part of the site is now occupied by a former weaving mill opened in 1868.

<sup>24</sup>. See Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, pp. 240–41.

<sup>25</sup>. WRRD, GL, p. 225, No. 230, 15 and 16 Aug. 1816. The buildings were demolished c. 1960 and there is now a car park on the site.

<sup>26</sup>. *Leeds Mercury*, 5 Sept. 1818, summarised in Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 91. The full text has also been examined.

<sup>27</sup>. Edward Baines, *History, Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York*, 1822, facsimile (Newton Abbott, 1969).

<sup>28</sup>. WRRD, RP, p. 564, No. 631, 26 Sept. 1852.

<sup>29</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 24 Sept. 1897. The building has been converted into flats.

<sup>30</sup>. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 234.



derived from the business, a proportion having been inherited from his father-in-law.<sup>31</sup> The business now became known as John & Isaac Dewhurst. In spite of the loss of James's capital and managerial abilities, John and Isaac continued the expansion programme with the acquisition of the lease of a cotton mill at Airton (NGR: SD 904 593) in 1822.<sup>32</sup> This also was a former corn mill which was converted to cotton spinning in about 1787.<sup>33</sup> In 1836 John Dewhurst purchased the site and built a new spinning mill adjacent to the former corn mill.<sup>34</sup> It was then worked in association with Belle Vue Mill at Skipton until disposed of by the English Sewing Cotton Co. in 1904, when it was repurchased by members of the Dewhurst family, trading as the Airton Mill Co. Ltd. By the standards of the day, the mill was small and unlikely to be viable. The company was liquidated in 1911.<sup>35</sup>

By 1822, to reconcile market demand for yarn with the available labour and water power, John and Isaac Dewhurst were operating four spinning mills on three separate sites.<sup>36</sup> They also employed handloom weavers, either directly or on commission, and maintained offices and warehouses in Skipton and Manchester. Following the deaths of James Dewhurst and cousin Isaac this must have been an onerous task; so much so that the partners must have been increasingly reliant on local managers to maintain day to day operations. In 1823 John Dewhurst moved from Embsay to Skipton, thereby improving access to local and regional communications. This suggests that for much of his time he was now engaged in coordination and marketing rather than production management. Isaac had already relocated to Skipton in 1820.

The partnership between John and Isaac Dewhurst ended in 1829. There is no formal record of the reasons, but it would not be surprising if the pressures of coordinating a highly decentralised business were at the heart of the problem. John favoured the construction of a modern steam-powered factory in Skipton and because, as eldest son, he had inherited property from his father as well as from his uncle (see Appendix) and perhaps also from his first wife's family, he was somewhat better placed than Isaac to achieve this goal. His wife Alice had also inherited £600 from her father in 1819.<sup>37</sup> Because of these considerations, had Isaac stayed with his brother it is possible that his influence within the firm would have diminished. Subsequent events also show that Isaac was less of a strategist than John, and he may therefore have been less convinced of the need for radical change.

Accordingly, although Isaac was involved at the outset, it was John Dewhurst principally who constructed Belle Vue Mill in Skipton, while retaining the Newmarket Street warehouse and the mill at Airton. It is likely that Isaac leased the mills at Embsay and Scalegill until 1836, when he purchased Primrose Mill at Embsay (NGR: SE 006 537). This was described as a newly erected worsted mill, although Isaac Dewhurst converted it for cotton spinning.<sup>38</sup> The venture was not successful and the mill was mortgaged to

<sup>31</sup>. BI, Prob. Reg. 166, No. n/a, Jan. 1821; WYAS, Wakefield, WRRD, GZ, p. 485, No. 540, 5 May 1819.

<sup>32</sup>. A promissory note dated 2 May 1822 for the final payment of £500 in favour of Jno Greenwood & Sons is in the Craven Museum, Entry 233/19.

<sup>33</sup>. Described in detail in William Sharp, *A History of Airton Mill* (Airton, 1990). The mill has been converted into flats.

<sup>34</sup>. WRRD, MO, p. 1, No 2, 1 and 2 Feb. 1836.

<sup>35</sup>. WRRD, 1911, Vol. 10, p. 1035, No. 377. Note that the family had a particular attachment to Malhamdale. In spite of their close associations with Skipton, John Bonny Dewhurst, Thomas Henry Dewhurst and many of their immediate family are interred at Coniston Cold, a few miles south of Airton.

<sup>36</sup>. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, pp. 232–42 confirms that all four mills were under Dewhurst control well into the 1830s.

<sup>37</sup>. Norman Cunliffe, *Aspects of Blackpool's History* (Blackpool, 1997), p. 60.

<sup>38</sup>. WRRD, MI, p. 482, No. 457, 1 and 2 Feb. 1836. The mill is now incorporated in the Embsay tannery.



the Craven Bank in 1842.<sup>39</sup> Bankruptcy and sale of the mill followed ten years later.<sup>40</sup> Isaac died in 1866.<sup>41</sup>

Contrary to popular belief, there were considerable variations by region and industry in the extent to which industrial development in Britain was supported by the release of agricultural capital.<sup>42</sup> After 1789 the Dewhursts achieved the transition from farm to factory, but only one branch of the family was involved. Furthermore, although capital was transferred out of farming to acquire equipment, Thomas Dewhurst was a tenant farmer with no land either to sell or to mortgage to finance his manufacturing interests, and factory premises were obtained leasehold. Moreover, the break with farming was gradual, and indeed, as his wealth increased, he returned a proportion of his industrial capital to agriculture by purchasing a farm. The pattern of cotton textile activity which Thomas Dewhurst established was continued by his sons, except that this generation no longer had a foothold in farming. In the case of John Dewhurst, agricultural resources were of importance only in that they might be used to underpin the move into modern industrial production at Belle Vue Mills, as explained below.

### 3. MODERN MANUFACTURING, 1828 TO 1865

In the decade to 1831 the population of Skipton increased from 3411 to 4842, that is by 42 per cent, and two economic events account for this. The first was the extension of Sidgwick's cotton mill in 1825, and the second was the opening of Belle Vue Mill in 1829.<sup>43</sup> Because of restrictions imposed by the Earls of Thanet, land for industrial development was not readily available in Skipton during the early nineteenth century. However, there were other, lesser landowners with property in the town, including the Chamberlain family. William Chamberlain, formerly a cotton spinner at Eastby, owned a substantial area of land on the west side of Skipton, and following his death in 1824 his executors gradually disposed of this holding. Thus, in May 1828, John and Isaac Dewhurst purchased Bentley Bridge Croft, which lay between the Leeds & Liverpool Canal and the main road into Lancashire and was therefore well positioned for industrial development.<sup>44</sup>

Belle Vue Mill (NGR: SD 987 515) was built on the site.<sup>45</sup> It was steam-powered and intended for producing 'worsted yarns and cotton twist', and a combing shed was amongst the facilities.<sup>46</sup> Power-loom weaving was also carried out initially, although for most of the period until 1854, only yarns were produced.<sup>47</sup> This suggests that activity was now, at least in part, related to the Bradford-based worsted trade, where fabrics produced with cotton warp and wool worsted weft became increasingly common during and after the 1830s.<sup>48</sup> The mill was opened on 17 February 1829.

Immediately thereafter, along with the agricultural properties at Barnoldswick which John Dewhurst received in 1828 under the will of his uncle William Dewhurst (see

<sup>39</sup>. WRRD, OK, p. 252, No. 232, 1 July 1842.

<sup>40</sup>. WRRD, RD, p. 379, No. 431, 15 April 1851; WRRD, RI, p. 113, No. 131, 29 Nov. 1852. The petition in bankruptcy names Isaac Dewhurst and his eldest son John Sawley Dewhurst. They are described as 'cotton spinners, co-partners, dealers and chapmen', a far cry from John Dewhurst's contemporary social and business standing.

<sup>41</sup>. NYCRO, Skipton (Christ Church) PR.

<sup>42</sup>. Hudson, *Industrial Revolution*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>43</sup>. Jackson, *YAJ*, 73, p. 139.

<sup>44</sup>. WRRD, KD, p. 730, No. 713, 28 May 1828.

<sup>45</sup>. The name was already in use when John Wood's map of Skipton was published in 1832. The usage therefore predates the popularity of Belle Vue Gardens in Manchester, which opened in 1836. See W. E. A. Axon, *Annals of Manchester* (Manchester and London, 1886).

<sup>46</sup>. WRRD, KL, p. 387, No. 322, 18 and 19 Feb. 1829.

<sup>47</sup>. Dawson, *History of Skipton*, p. 281.

<sup>48</sup>. D. T. Jenkins and K. G. Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry, 1770-1914* (Aldershot, 1987), p. 131.



Appendix), the mill was mortgaged to John Tennant of Long Preston.<sup>49</sup> Whether the aim was to raise working capital or to pay off contractors and machinery suppliers is not clear, although the latter seems the more likely, bearing in mind that a source of long term finance was intended. John Tennant was a farmer and grazier at The Riddings (NGR: SD 823 599) near Long Preston and close to the drove road from Settle.<sup>50</sup> At this juncture, the droving trade with Scotland was declining and it is possible that Tennant was now seeking alternative business interests.<sup>51</sup> How the link with the Dewhursts came about is a matter for conjecture. Richard Tennant was a lawyer in Skipton at the time, while John Tennant himself was descended on his mother's side from the Thornber family as were John and Isaac Dewhurst, and either of these links may have been relevant.<sup>52</sup> The use of agricultural land by manufacturers to secure the acquisition of industrial assets, and the provision of loans to industrialists by landowners are phenomena which have received particular attention from Hudson in her study of the wool textile industry in Yorkshire.<sup>53</sup>

On Sunday, 2 January 1831 a serious fire broke out which destroyed the contents of the mill and left the buildings (except for the engine house) 'a mass of blackened ruin'.<sup>54</sup> The damage was exacerbated by the lack of a fire engine in the town and the need to call assistance from Keighley, ten miles away.<sup>55</sup> It was reported that 300 to 400 people were left without jobs as a result of the fire, and public subscriptions were invited for their relief. Of these, judging by the employment data presented later, at least half were out workers, probably handloom weavers. The damage was valued at up to £15,000, of which only £8000 was covered by insurance. No distinction was given between fixed assets and stocks. These estimates are of some interest in that they point towards a substantial business in the context of Skipton, which was then only a comparatively small market town. On the other hand, on the assumption that the destruction was almost complete, the valuation is at the lower end compared with the industry as a whole.<sup>56</sup>

The fire was popularly attributed to arson.<sup>57</sup> This belief perhaps reflects the political tensions of the day, circumstances which can be illustrated by the need to observe conditions of absolute secrecy when power looms were installed at Belle Vue Mill in 1829.<sup>58</sup> However, John Dewhurst believed that the cause was accidental, and two county magistrates found no evidence of arson.<sup>59</sup> It is of interest that the Dewhursts went on to establish their own highly effective fire brigade which, by the 1860s, was frequently called upon to attend incidents throughout the local area.<sup>60</sup> After the fire, the mill was rebuilt and re-equipped, and it opened as a cotton spinning establishment in the autumn of 1831, although close links with the worsted industry were retained. Subsequently, there was a visitation from plug drawers during the Chartist uprising of 1842, but no serious damage was done.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>49</sup>. WRRD, KL, p. 387, No. 322, 18 and 19 Feb. 1829.

<sup>50</sup>. Geoffrey N. Wright, *Roads and Trackways of the Yorkshire Dales* (Ashbourne, 1985), p. 148.

<sup>51</sup>. See A. Raistrick, *Old Yorkshire Dales* (Newton Abbot, 1967), p. 123.

<sup>52</sup>. NYCRO, Skipton (Holy Trinity) PR, Long Preston PR.

<sup>53</sup>. Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: a Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986), Chapter 4.

<sup>54</sup>. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 Jan. 1831.

<sup>55</sup>. John Dewhurst paid £16. os. 6d. for the use of three engines owned by the Keighley Improvement Commissioners. See Ian Dewhurst, *A History of Keighley* (Keighley, 1974), p. 30.

<sup>56</sup>. See Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters* (Oxford, 1984), p. 21.

<sup>57</sup>. John Mayhall, *Annals of Yorkshire*, 1 (Leeds, 1860), p. 370.

<sup>58</sup>. Dawson, *History of Skipton*, pp. 279-80.

<sup>59</sup>. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 Jan. 1831.

<sup>60</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 11 Jan. 1862.

<sup>61</sup>. R. G. Rowley, 'The Plug Drawing Riots, 1842', *Craven Herald & Pioneer*, 7, 21, 28 Nov. 1980.



In 1832 the rebuilt mill and the property at Barnoldswick were used to secure a loan from the Craven Bank, and for some years this ran concurrently with the arrangement previously made with John Tennant.<sup>62</sup> Also included was the warehouse in Newmarket Street which John Dewhurst had acquired in 1816. Once again, the available documentation does not explain what the loan was for, but it would be safe to assume that it was to finance the rebuilding over and above the limits of the insurance valuation. John Tennant died in 1836, and in 1838 the Craven Bank took over the administration of his arrangement with John Dewhurst.<sup>63</sup> The industrial land and buildings, but not the agricultural property, were redeemed from the bank in 1852.<sup>64</sup>

The use of cotton warps in worsted fabrics was a well-established feature of the worsted industry in Britain during the middle years of the nineteenth century. In this way it was possible to use power-looms at a time when worsted yarns of sufficient strength were not yet available for this technology.<sup>65</sup> Cost reduction, especially in the face of American tariffs, and fashion considerations also help to explain the predominance of cotton warps during this period.<sup>66</sup> John Dewhurst was active in the market for cotton warps, and several invoices held at the Bradford District Archives give detailed technical specifications of warps supplied to John Brigg, worsted manufacturer of Keighley, between 1843 and 1845.<sup>67</sup> Robert Clough of Keighley and T. & M. Bairstow of Sutton-in-Craven were also customers at this time.<sup>68</sup>

Trade with the cotton industry was also maintained, and through this the family forged strong links with the Liberal nonconformist establishment in Manchester. On the political front, in 1895, on the occasion of a presentation by local Liberals, John Bonny Dewhurst, the elder of John Dewhurst's surviving sons, recalled his acquaintanceship with Richard Cobden in the 1840s.<sup>69</sup>

Commercial associations also gave rise to social connections as in the case of two of John Dewhurst's four daughters who both married into prominent Manchester families. Thus, in the early 1840s, Ellen married James Milne of the retailers Kendal, Milne & Faulkner (later Kendal, Milne & Co.).<sup>70</sup> Subsequently, in 1848, Alice married John Hopkinson who was newly appointed to a partnership in the engineering firm Wren & Bennett (formerly Hewes & Wren), which was thereafter known as Wren & Hopkinson.<sup>71</sup> This firm acted as architects and millwrights for all major building projects at Belle Vue Mills prior to the formation of the English Sewing Cotton Co. in 1897.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned in the Appendix, in 1844 John Bonny Dewhurst married Frances England, the daughter of Nicholas England and granddaughter of Thomas Thornber, both of whom were closely associated with the cotton industry in Colne. His younger brother, Thomas Henry Dewhurst, married Maria Stevenson, a member of another Manchester family, although one of farmers rather than industrialists, and she in turn was related by marriage to the

<sup>62</sup> WRRD, LK, p. 244, No. 220, 15 and 16 June 1832.

<sup>63</sup> Monumental inscription, St Mary's Parish Church, Long Preston; WRRD, MY, p. 697, No. 666, 3 Feb. 1838.

<sup>64</sup> WRRD, RP, p. 561, No. 629, 1 Sept. 1852.

<sup>65</sup> *Baines's Account of the Woollen Manufacture of England*, ed. K. G. Ponting (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 149.

<sup>66</sup> Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 134.

<sup>67</sup> WYAS, Bradford, MM 73/1/2.

<sup>68</sup> Hudson, *Genesis of Industrial Capital*, p. 132.

<sup>69</sup> *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 2 Feb. 1895.

<sup>70</sup> *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 1 March 1895; Robert G. Chorlton, *The Gravestone Inscriptions of Heaton Mersey Congregational Church* (Manchester, 1967).

<sup>71</sup> Archives of St Andrew's Methodist/United Reform Church, Skipton, Zion Chapel, Skipton, Church Book, 1834-67; *Manchester Faces and Places*, Vol. 4, 1892-93, p. 155.

<sup>72</sup> See for example *Craven Herald*, Dec. 1853 and *Craven Pioneer*, 20 Feb. 1869.



Thornbers and the Englands.<sup>73</sup> John Dewhurst's other two daughters, Jane and Elizabeth, married outside of the Lancashire industrial and commercial scene, but although Elizabeth married a local doctor, Jane's husband was a Bradford worsted manufacturer.<sup>74</sup> Thus, for the most part this generation of the family displayed the class and occupational endogamy which has been highlighted by Howe.<sup>75</sup>

Only minor additions were made to Belle Vue Mill between 1831 and 1852, when the loan from the Craven Bank was redeemed. The extract from the Ordnance Survey of 1850 shown in Figure 1 reflects the situation during this period. On the south side, the main building is separated from the turnpike road by ornamental gardens and a gas producing facility, while at the back there is a large yard, in the north-east corner of which is a warehouse. These buildings are still extant. The main building is a five-storey structure originally with twelve bays but extended westwards by a further two bays by 1860.<sup>76</sup> The remains of a bell turret survive on what was once the east gable. A panoramic view of Skipton drawn in about 1850 shows a chimney at the back of the premises but nothing remains either of this or of the original engine house.<sup>77</sup> The warehouse is of three storeys but because of the upward slope of the adjacent lane towards the canal bridge, only two storeys form a frontage to the canal tow path, and these featured taking-in doors (now blocked) with lifting tackle above.

Hitherto, Belle Vue Mill had operated solely as a spinning factory but by 1850 power-loom weaving was well established in both the cotton and worsted trades.<sup>78</sup> Accordingly, during a period of buoyant trade between 1852 and 1854, a weaving shed for 400 looms was added on the south side of the mill to which was attached a five-storey warehouse of twelve bays on the east side. Both were to the designs of Wren & Hopkinson.<sup>79</sup> This was a major undertaking involving the diversion of the lane linking the turnpike road with the canal and necessitating a bridge over the beck at the junction with the turnpike road. The weaving facility manufactured both 100 per cent cotton fabrics and fabrics with a cotton warp and a worsted weft (mixed goods as they became known) well into the 1870s.<sup>80</sup>

A number of other building developments occurred during the following decade. First, in 1859–60 additional warehousing was created in the outer angle between the 1854 warehouse and the original mill. Then in 1863–64 a warehouse and a dye-house were built on the west side of the lane, adjacent to Eller Beck and on land which until 1840 was the site of the Skipton Union Workhouse.<sup>81</sup> The Dewhursts had purchased this property in 1852, no doubt with expansion in mind.<sup>82</sup> Finally, in 1866–67 an additional or replacement engine house was built inside the right angle formed by the 1854 warehouse and the original mill.<sup>83</sup> All of these and subsequent buildings are shown in Figure 2.

It is unclear how the building developments of the 1850s and thereafter were financed. A comprehensive survey of registrations at the West Riding Registry of Deeds reveals no

<sup>73</sup> Manchester Central Library, Manchester Archives and Local Studies (MALS), Manchester Cathedral PR; *Craven Herald*, 23 June 1916; Roger Frost, *A Lancashire Township: the History of Briercliffe-with-Extwistle* (Burnley, 1982), p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Craven Pioneer*, 17 June 1865, and Archives of St Andrew's, Zion Chapel, Skipton, Church Book, 1834–67.

<sup>75</sup> Howe, *Cotton Masters*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>76</sup> Comparison with Map of Skipton Local Board of Health, 1860, in North Yorkshire County Library, Skipton.

<sup>77</sup> W. H. Dawson, *A Day in Skipton* (Bradford, nd), p. 30.

<sup>78</sup> Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, pp. 110–16.

<sup>79</sup> Craven Museum, Accession 2001.23.1, pocket book of John Dawson, cashier at Belle Vue Mills.

<sup>80</sup> *Craven Pioneer*, 3 Oct. 1874.

<sup>81</sup> Craven Museum, pocket book of John Dawson; Dawson, *History of Skipton*, p. 371.

<sup>82</sup> WRRD, RM, p. 5, No. 7, 9 March 1852.

<sup>83</sup> *Craven Pioneer*, 8 Dec. 1866.

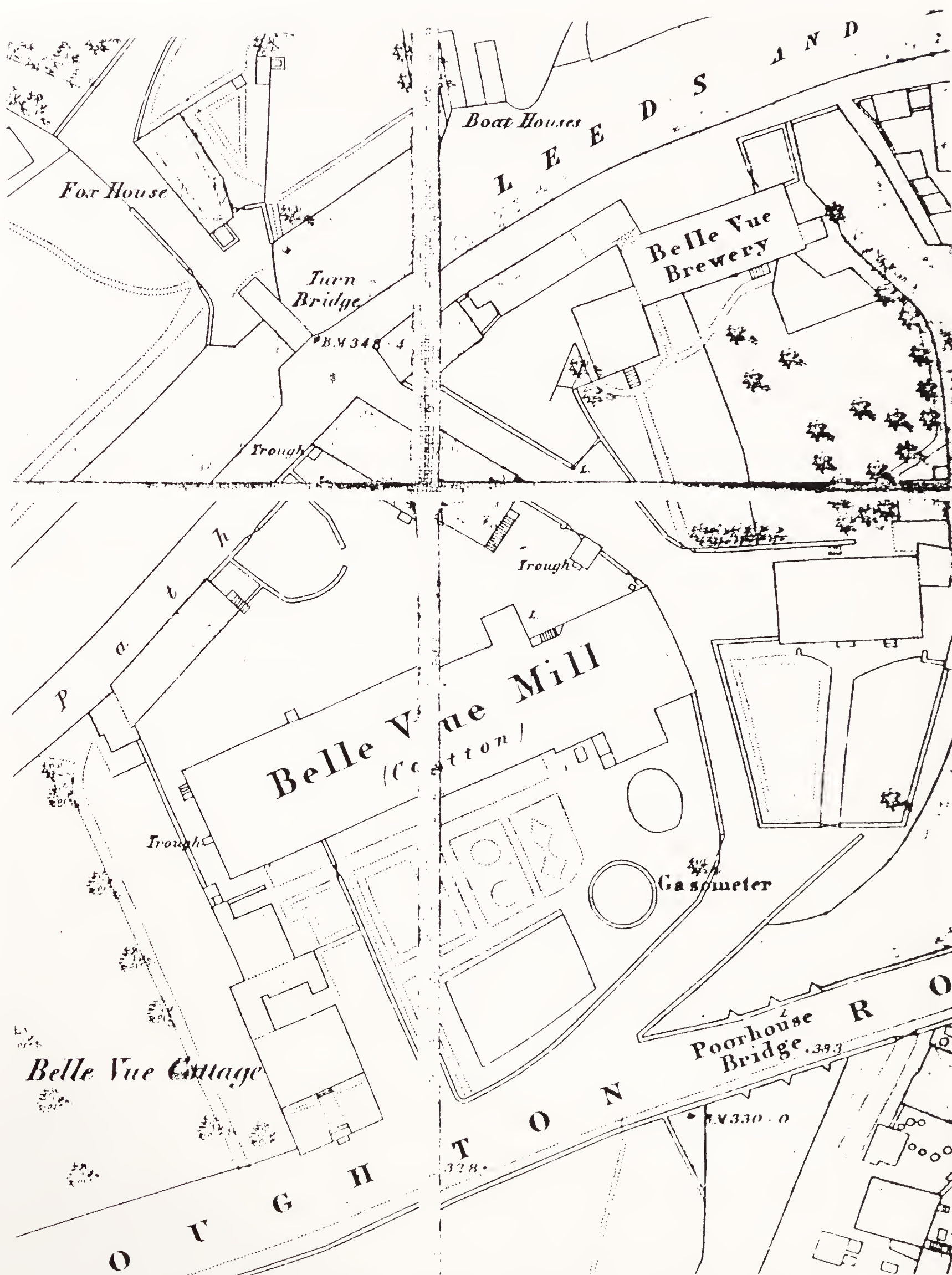


Fig. 1. Belle Vue Mill as represented on the 1850 Ordnance Survey.



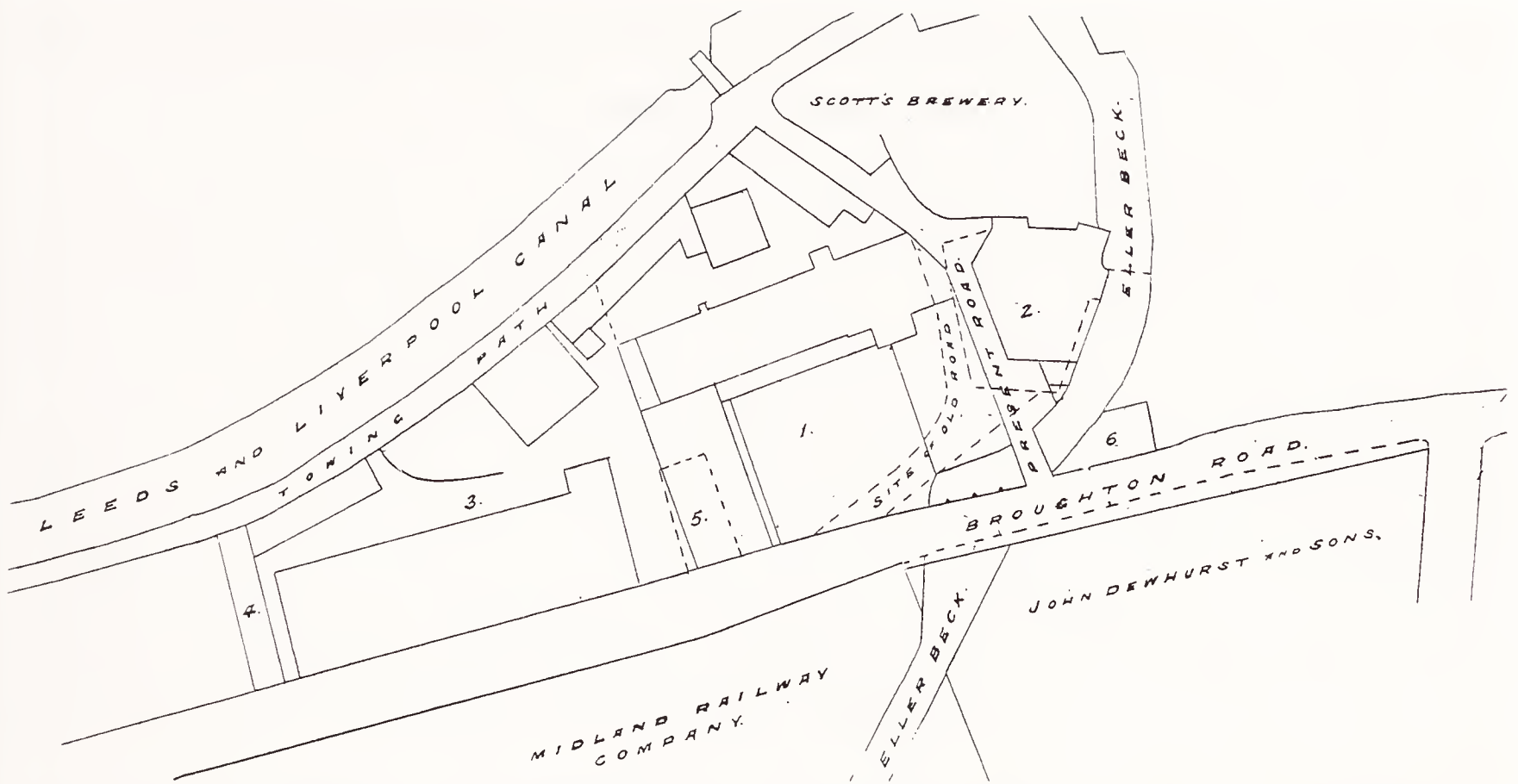


Fig. 2. Belle Vue Mills as at 1889. Major land acquisitions (first date) and building developments (second date) are numbered as follows: 1. 1828; 1828–67; 2. 1852; 1863/64; 3. 1855; 1870; 4. end house in Belle Vue Terrace, acquired in 1873 (not mentioned in text); 5. 1883; 1884; 6. 1889; 1891. South of Broughton Road, land was acquired in 1870 and 1874 and developed after 1897. Diagram by permission of the Craven Museum Service, Skipton.

suggestion of land and buildings being used to secure loans. Accumulated retained profits would be an alternative to loans but if so, it is unclear how these funds were deployed before the building projects were initiated. External sources of finance provided by family members is another hypothesis and in that case perhaps Wren & Hopkinson provided long-term credit.

It is of interest that a building project was undertaken in 1863–64 during the American Civil War and the associated Cotton Famine. Apart from this, several other capital projects were undertaken in Skipton at this time, including a large and ornate Wesleyan chapel in Water Street built to the designs of Lockwood & Mawson and a substantial block of retail premises in Caroline Square.<sup>84</sup> The town hall was also completed during this period. Whether this expenditure reflected relative prosperity or lack of it is not easy to assess. Watts in his statistics of the Cotton Famine classifies the Skipton Poor Law Union amongst the distressed Unions of the cotton districts.<sup>85</sup> In this context, Skipton, while embracing 1.5 per cent of the population of the distressed Unions, accounted for between 0.57 per cent and 4.00 per cent of those receiving relief between 1861 and 1865, and between 0.7 per cent and 3.4 per cent of total expenditure on relief over the same period. Furthermore, the Skipton Union included the township of Barnoldswick where the effects of the Cotton Famine are known to have been very serious, yet at the end of the period Skipton's economy also was in difficulty to the extent that many families had moved out in search of employment.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, no loans for capital works were received under the 1863 legislation for the relief of distressed districts.<sup>87</sup> The econ-

<sup>84</sup>. Papers connected with the chapel project are housed in the archives of St Andrew's Church, Skipton.

<sup>85</sup> John Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (London and Manchester, 1866), pp. 462–67.

<sup>86.</sup> *Craven Pioneer*, 22 Nov. 1862 and 17 Nov. 1866.

<sup>87</sup>. Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act 1863. Watts gives a nil return for the Skipton Union.

omic status of the town is therefore unclear, although it would perhaps be fair to claim that Skipton suffered adverse effects but not so severely as in many other places where the cotton industry was a significant source of employment.

However, there can be no doubt that the town would have been considerably worse off if the Dewhursts had not maintained an involvement in the worsted trade as well as in the cotton industry. The reasons are straightforward: when cotton was available, but at an increased price, the effect on mixed goods was proportionately less than on 100 per cent cotton items. Furthermore, when there were serious constraints on the supply of cotton, mixed goods could be substituted for 100 per cent cotton fabrics in some end uses.<sup>88</sup> It seems that cotton warp manufacturers for the Bradford trade were, in any event, at a distinct advantage in that Egyptian and other fine varieties of fibre were used, and demand for mixed goods was healthy because of a recent Anglo-French trade agreement.<sup>89</sup>

John Dewhurst died in 1864, by which time his sons, John Bonny and Thomas Henry, were already active in the business, having been partners since 1844 and 1852 respectively.<sup>90</sup> The expansion of the 1850s and 1860s reflected the enthusiasm of the sons as much as it did the determination of their father, and the business was now known as John Dewhurst & Sons, a designation which continued throughout the ownership of the English Sewing Cotton Co. John Dewhurst left an estate valued at £16,000 and the will provided an annuity for his wife as well as bequests to his surviving daughters, Ellen, Alice and Elizabeth, and to the son of Jane, who had died in 1850.<sup>91</sup> The rest of the estate was left jointly to his sons.<sup>92</sup> The practical consequence was that the daughters *de facto* became long-term creditors of the business, a state of affairs which persisted until the formation of a limited company in 1888.<sup>93</sup>

#### 4. STRATEGIC REALIGNMENT, 1866 TO 1897

In the aftermath of the American Civil War, demand for mixed goods declined, partly because of changes in fashion.<sup>94</sup> Also, the emergence of large-scale single process cotton spinners in the towns to the north and east of Manchester created a competitive threat to smaller higher-cost producers such as those in Craven. The difficulty was exacerbated where flexibility was reduced by the integration of spinning and weaving.<sup>95</sup> Many firms were unable to adapt and eventually succumbed but the Dewhursts proved themselves capable of a major strategic realignment.<sup>96</sup>

This involved a move into cotton sewing thread production in parallel with the existing spinning and weaving business. The new venture provided market opportunities in the expanding ready-made clothing industry and also the footwear trade. In addition there was a retail demand for sewing thread encouraged by the increasing availability of the

<sup>88</sup> Baines's *Account of the Woollen Manufacture*, ed. Ponting, p. 109; Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 160.

<sup>89</sup> Letter from Henry Ashworth of New Eagley, Bolton, to Richard Cobden in 1862, quoted in Mary B. Rose, *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 164.

<sup>90</sup> John Dewhurst was buried in the graveyard at Zion Chapel, Skipton. Sadly, the grave and its memorial stone are now incorporated in the car park of St Andrew's church.

<sup>91</sup> *Bradford Observer*, 15 Aug. 1850.

<sup>92</sup> Probate Registry, Wakefield, 2 Feb. 1865 (now at the Probate Registry in York).

<sup>93</sup> WRRD, 1889, Vol. 9, p. 188, No. 91.

<sup>94</sup> Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 236.

<sup>95</sup> D. Roberts, 'The Development of the Textile Industry in the West Craven and Skipton District of Yorkshire' (unpublished MSc. (Econ) thesis, London School of Economics, 1957), pp. 145–46.

<sup>96</sup> The Sidgwick family cotton textile business in Skipton, dating from 1785, was amongst those unable to meet the challenge. See Jackson, *FAJ*, 73, pp. 133–53.



domestic sewing machine and by applications in crochet and related craft work, although this was met through wholesalers as intermediaries.<sup>97</sup> Sewing thread offered considerable scope for product differentiation, first in terms of end use and then in relation to physical properties including tensile strength, elasticity, surface friction, lustre and colour.

Against this background, branding and trade marking were important elements of marketing. Accordingly, Dewhursts manufactured brands which included *Super Six-Cord*, *Super Glacé Thread* and *Super Elastic Cord* with connotations of strength, smoothness and elasticity respectively. These were promoted in association with a trade mark, a shield carrying three scallop shells, at an early stage in the launch of the new activity.<sup>98</sup> Successful marketing and promotion also necessitated regular appearances at international exhibitions. Dewhursts were awarded gold medals at Paris (1875), Frankfurt (1881), Amsterdam (1883), Calcutta (1883–84) and Antwerp (1885) and continued to accumulate awards thereafter. To support international operations, agents were appointed in Europe and North America.<sup>99</sup> All of this was in stark contrast to the regular attendance at the Bradford and Manchester markets which was the main requirement for selling the established products. Even so, in spite of these opportunities for product differentiation, severe price competition was causing serious difficulties by the 1890s.

So far as production facilities are concerned, a new mill was built between 1867 and 1869 to the west of the existing mills and with a frontage to Broughton Road. The land had been purchased from Skipton Grammar School in 1855, a further example of foresight, and like the previous buildings it was stone faced.<sup>100</sup> Wren & Hopkinson were the architects and the mill was of five-storey construction, twenty bays long and six bays wide, each bay occupying about 3.5 metres.<sup>101</sup> Its facilities were in accordance with contemporary trends in mill design. Transverse brick-vaulted flooring and a sprinkler system were applied to minimise the fire risk. Vaulting had been used in previous extensions but in this case it was based on one pillar per bay along the length of the building, while the pillars were spaced at twice this distance across the width, thereby reducing the constraints on plant layout. The bays were generously proportioned and this contributed further to the effective use of floor space. Water for the sprinkler was supplied from a tank positioned in an impressive tower finished in a restrained Hôtel de Ville styling. An integral engine house was provided at the east end and this was equipped with two horizontal engines also supplied by Wren & Hopkinson which, together, were rated at 800 ihp.<sup>102</sup> The existing power supply, rated at 600 ihp, was retained to drive the rest of the mill. Steam was supplied from nine boilers with smoke discharged to a new octagonal stack.<sup>103</sup> A chamber above the engine house was provided in connection with a dust extraction system for the blow room.<sup>104</sup> It was not until 1875 that rope drives were first applied to cotton spinning mills, and the new mill therefore incorporated vertical shafting with bevelled gears.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>97</sup>. See Andrew Godley, 'Singer in Britain: The Diffusion of Sewing Machine Technology and its impact on the Clothing Industry in the UK, 1860–1905', *Textile History*, 27.1 (1996), p. 61.

<sup>98</sup>. Craven Museum, Entry 233/3, John Dewhurst & Sons, Newspaper Cuttings Book. By way of illustration, the three shells motif appears in cuttings from unattributed French and German newspapers dated 1873 and the product names cited here are found in a cutting from the *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Sept. 1875.

<sup>99</sup>. Craven Museum, 233/3, Newspaper Cuttings Book, various items.

<sup>100</sup>. WRRD, SX, p. 108, No. 128, 2 Feb. 1855.

<sup>101</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 20 Feb. 1869.

<sup>102</sup>. Craven Museum, 233/3, Newspaper Cuttings Book, Philadelphia Exhibition Catalogue, 1 May 1876.

<sup>103</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 3 Oct. 1874.

<sup>104</sup>. See Colum Giles and Ian H. Goodall, *Yorkshire Textile Mills: The Buildings of the Yorkshire Textile Industry, 1770 to 1930* (London, 1992), Fig. 231, p. 142.

<sup>105</sup>. Mike Williams and D. A. Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester* (Preston, 1992), p. 31.



The cost of the undertaking, including the setting up of marketing and distribution channels, is not known but must have been very considerable, since effectively it involved the establishing of a new and free-standing business concern. No firm evidence has survived to suggest by what means the venture was financed. Once again it comes to mind that perhaps Wren & Hopkinson invested in the project by the provision of long-term credit, just as in subsequent decades the mill architects, Stott & Sons, became involved in the equity financing of cotton spinning companies.<sup>106</sup>

The expertise needed to manufacture and sell cotton sewing thread was built up in a number of ways. A key appointment in 1870 was that of James Dodgson as manager of the thread department. He was recruited from S. Manlove & Sons in Chesterfield, a firm already involved in sewing thread production.<sup>107</sup> There was a need for a scientific approach to the new business, and accordingly John Bonny Dewhurst's eldest son, Algernon (1851–1934), after leaving Denmark Hill Grammar School, studied chemistry at Stuttgart Polytechnic School and Berlin University before entering the business in 1870.<sup>108</sup> Study abroad reflected the paucity of higher education in science and technology then available in Britain but also had the advantage of providing a practical training in the German language. In addition, there may have been the opportunity to meet other British students.<sup>109</sup> Subsequently, John Bonny Dewhurst's second son, Lionel (1859–1932), was similarly educated at Mill Hill School and in Germany.<sup>110</sup> Their father,

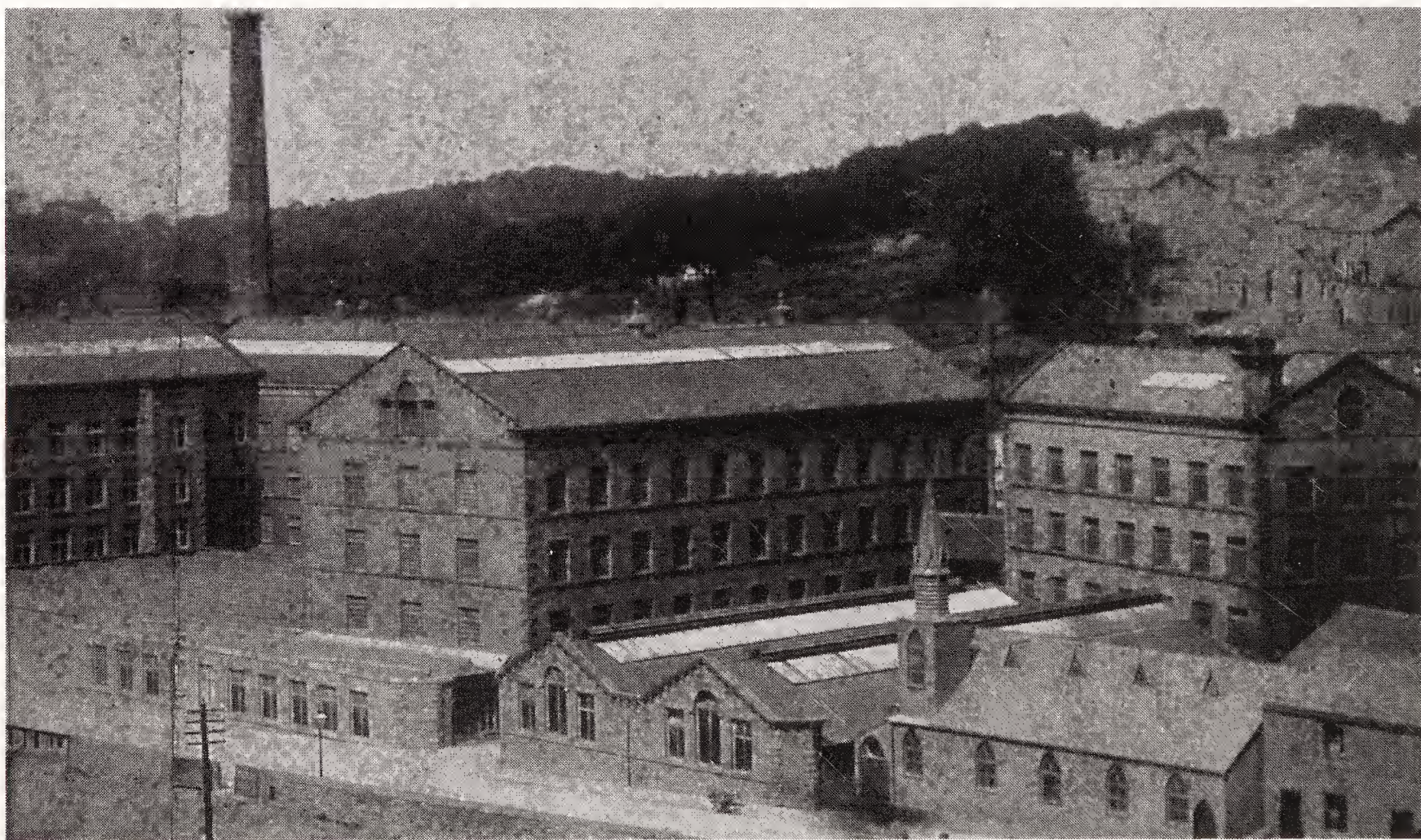


Fig. 3. Belle Vue Mills from the south, c. 1905. The photograph shows the buildings at the eastern end of the site. The thread mill of 1870 and the new chimney of 1901 are off the photograph, immediately to the left. Photograph by the late Broughton Crook, by permission of Mrs Alice Wright, Skipton.

<sup>106</sup>. See Roger N. Holden, *Stott & Sons: Architects of the Lancashire Cotton Mill* (Lancaster, 1998), pp. 147–53.

<sup>107</sup>. *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 16 Oct. 1908.

<sup>108</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 8 June 1934.

<sup>109</sup>. Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 284.

<sup>110</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 12 Feb. 1932.



by contrast, had attended Skipton Grammar School and received no higher education, although their uncle had completed his education at Mill Hill after a period at Skipton Grammar School.<sup>111</sup> In due course John Bonny Dewhurst's third son (Harold) and two of Thomas Henry Dewhurst's five surviving sons (Arthur and Edgar) also entered the business.<sup>112</sup>

It was not only members of the Dewhurst family who studied in Germany. John Thomas Dawson (1857–1931), who became general manager of the business in 1888, spent some time at Skipton Grammar School, but completed his secondary education at a school in Marburg for the express purpose of acquiring a knowledge of German. Subsequently he attended Bradford Technical College, where textile classes started in 1878.<sup>113</sup> The Dawson family had a long association with the Dewhursts. John Thomas Dawson's father, John (1833–88), was employed by the business from 1852 until his death, for the most part as the cashier, a position of responsibility which he combined with the proprietorship and editorship of the *Craven Pioneer* from 1858.<sup>114</sup> The Dawson family's links with Germany became especially close. William Harbutt Dawson (1860–1948), one of John Thomas Dawson's brothers, as well as publishing a *History of Skipton* in 1882, spent much time in Germany, acquired a German wife, and was the author of works on German political economy.<sup>115</sup>

John Thomas Dawson's predecessor as general manager was Robert Cornthwaite (1837–1907). He was self-taught but worked his way through the ranks, having joined the business in 1857. In 1861 he was appointed manager of the spinning department and in 1863 he became the general manager. He resigned in 1888 to set up the Nevsky Thread Mills in St Petersburg and after this undertaking was acquired by J. & P. Coats, sewing thread manufacturers of Paisley, he went to Barcelona to manage their factory in that city.<sup>116</sup> Robert Cornthwaite was very closely associated with the building and equipping of the Dewhursts' new mill and he spoke with great conviction about the project at a tea and entertainment organised by the operatives in January 1871.<sup>117</sup>

These were the men who set up and developed the sewing thread operation up to the formation of the English Sewing Cotton Co. in 1897. It is noteworthy that all of those named above were associated with Skipton Congregational Church, often in positions of leadership, and it is with some justification that this church might be described, during the late Victorian period, as John Dewhurst & Sons at prayer.

The move into sewing thread production increased an already large workforce. In 1851, before the expansion of that decade, employment was 180 but in 1861 it reached 547. In 1881, by which time the new venture was well established, it was 952. Even allowing for the possibility that these figures include the small mill at Airton, which was still in operation, and taking into account that Airton may have been included in some years but not in others, an impressive rate of expansion is evident.<sup>118</sup> However, by the mid-1870s, there were growing fears of foreign competition notably from Germany. Speaking in the immediate aftermath of the Factory Act of 1875 which reduced the hours

<sup>111</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 24 June 1904 and 23 June 1916.

<sup>112</sup>. WRRD, 1898, Vol. 16, p. 895, No. 438.

<sup>113</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 27 Nov. 1931; Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, pp. 286–87.

<sup>114</sup>. Craven Museum, pocket book of John Dawson.

<sup>115</sup>. Archives of St Andrew's, Skipton Congregational Church Registers. Extracts from press reviews of Dawson's works on German socialism are included in the advertising page of W. H. Dawson, *History of Independency in Skipton* (London and Skipton, 1891).

<sup>116</sup>. *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 30 March 1906.

<sup>117</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 21 Jan. 1871.

<sup>118</sup>. Entries in Census returns are as follows: 1851 and 1881 John Bonny Dewhurst, 1861 John Dewhurst.



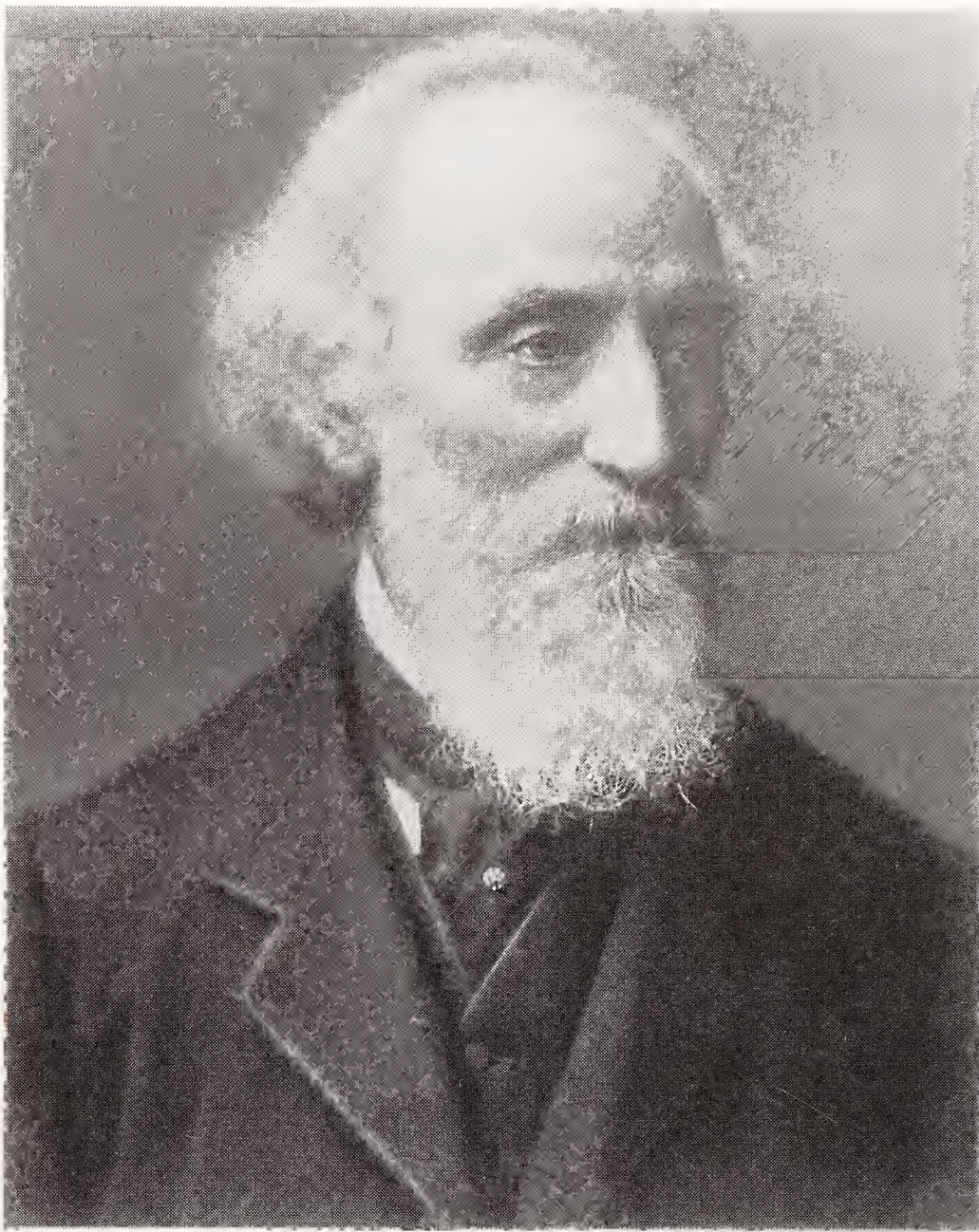


Fig. 4. John Bonny Dewhurst.  
Photograph from the collection of  
Mrs Valentine Rowley, Skipton.

of work of women and young people to  $56\frac{1}{2}$  per week, John Bonny Dewhurst articulated his concerns as follows:

I think that there is enough to alarm us as to our future, for I know what is being done in Saxony and other parts of Germany. In Saxony they have coal as cheap, if not cheaper, than we have; they have plenty of machinery as good as ours, and plenty of mills, and yet withal they work 72 hours per week. In Alsace I have seen as good machinery at work spinning cotton as any in England, and making beautiful goods. Their hours of work were 72. In India too, mills for spinning and weaving are on the increase, and are being worked successfully. So that in the face of all this opposition nothing will enable England to maintain its supremacy in manufactures but increased industry and sobriety, and an intelligent use of those faculties which our Maker has bestowed upon us.<sup>119</sup>

These remarks were addressed to the workforce during a social gathering at which similar sentiments were expressed by Robert Cornthwaite on the basis of his own observations in Saxony. Such worries were widespread in the British textile industry at this time.<sup>120</sup>

Nevertheless, further expansion of Belle Vue Mills was carried out. Figure 1 shows the site of Belle Vue Cottage on the south-west side of the original mill. This was in fact a substantial residence built in 1815 by Thomas Hitching and more commonly known as Wellington House. By inheritance it came into the possession of the Scott family who

<sup>119</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 16 Jan. 1875.

<sup>120</sup>. Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, pp. 252–53.



were the proprietors of the brewery located on the north side of Dewhursts' 1864 warehouse. However, by the 1870s it was enclosed on three sides by mill buildings and was let to the curate of Holy Trinity Parish Church. The Dewhursts purchased the property in 1883 and the following year completed a five-storey warehouse and office block on the site.<sup>121</sup> The only other major extension prior to 1897 was to the dye-house, which in 1891 was brought forward as a single storey from the 1864 warehouse on the east side of Brewery Lane to create a frontage on Broughton Road. This involved putting in substantial girders to carry the new building over the Eller Beck.<sup>122</sup> By this stage the mills had some 20,000 square metres of floor space of which more than a half had been commissioned since 1870.<sup>123</sup>

Improvements to existing premises were also made during the 1880s and 1890s, the most interesting of which was the introduction of electric lighting in 1884. The electrical power was generated by two Edison dynamos which were normally driven by the main mill engines. When these were not running, a subsidiary steam engine, which was installed at the same time as the dynamos, was used. The project was carried out by John Bonny and Thomas Henry Dewhurst's nephew, Edward Hopkinson of Mather & Platt, who with his brother John was amongst the pioneers of the application of electricity to industry.<sup>124</sup> However, although this was an early adoption of electric lighting in a cotton mill, it was by no means the earliest.<sup>125</sup> Another important project carried out during this period was the extension of the sprinkler system to the older parts of the mills, which involved the construction of an additional tower, albeit much smaller than the one completed in 1869.<sup>126</sup> The work was carried out in 1890. These were the last building

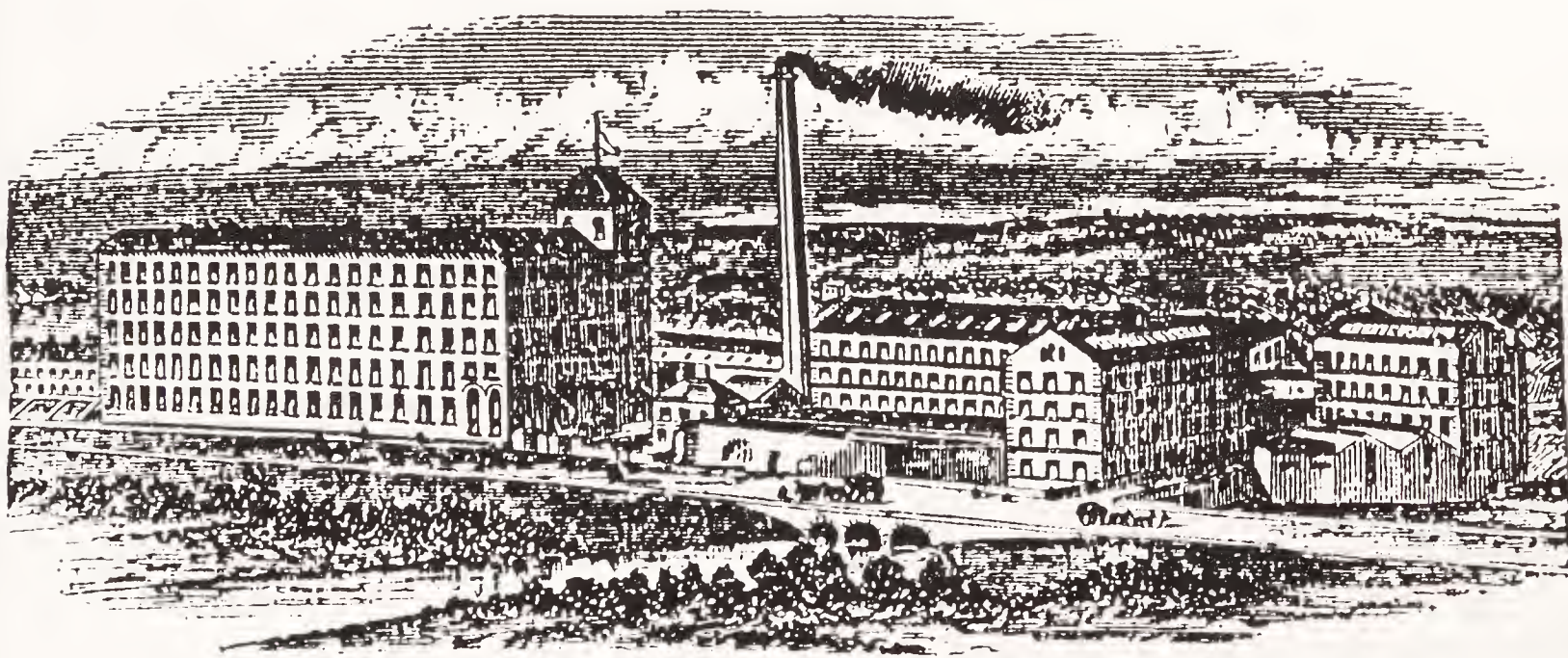


Fig. 5. Belle Vue Mills as they were between 1870 and 1884, from an advertisement. By courtesy of the North Yorkshire County Library, Skipton.

<sup>121</sup>. WRRD, 1883, Vol. 704, p. 203, No. 270; *Craven Herald*, 23 Feb. 1884.

<sup>122</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 23 Jan. 1891.

<sup>123</sup>. Calculated from 1902 measurements summarised in miscellaneous technical papers within Entry 233, Craven Museum.

<sup>124</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 3 Jan. 1885; *Manchester Guardian*, 1 March 1886.

<sup>125</sup>. Williams and Farnie, *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester*, p. 119.

<sup>126</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 23 May 1890.



and allied projects to be carried out before the amalgamation which formed the English Sewing Cotton Co.

##### 5. FROM FAMILY ENTERPRISE TO MANAGERIAL CAPITALISM: THE AMALGAMATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

In 1889, Otto Philippi of J. & P. Coats established the Sewing Cotton Agency (later known as the Central Agency) to take over the marketing of the firm's own products and those of its main competitors, Clark & Co. of Paisley and Jonas Brooks & Bros of Meltham near Huddersfield. This reduced selling and administrative expenses by sharing of resources and also increased margins by introducing direct sales to the retail trade.<sup>127</sup> In 1896 the arrangement culminated in the amalgamation of these businesses along with James Chadwick & Bros of Bolton. The new firm enjoyed a dominant position in the market for sewing thread, and the competitive impact on the remaining firms was profound.

In response, Dewhursts collaborated with thirteen other companies, including such old-established businesses as Sir Richard Arkwright & Co. of Cromford and W. G. & J. Strutt of Belper, to form the English Sewing Cotton Co. The aim was to achieve steady and reasonable prices and to avoid undercutting in the wake of the J. & P. Coats amalgamation. Good relations with J. & P. Coats were sought and achieved from the outset. The component businesses were valued at £1,728,651, of which £444,131 was accounted for by trade marks, patents and goodwill, two-thirds of which was paid in cash.<sup>128</sup> The amounts paid for each business were not published at the outset, but it subsequently emerged that John Dewhurst & Sons attracted the highest valuation at £500,000.<sup>129</sup> Algernon Dewhurst was the first chairman, Lionel and Thomas Henry Dewhurst were directors (along with twelve others) and John Bonny Dewhurst was a trustee for the debenture holders. The nominal value of the share and debenture capital issued at the outset was £2,250,000, but this was only 30 per cent of the nominal value of the enlarged J. & P. Coats.

The new company got off to a very bad start. Foreign trade had been neglected, so much so that in 1900 it was necessary to approach J. & P. Coats's Central Thread Agency with a view to its taking responsibility for the English Sewing Cotton Co.'s export sales and overseas manufacturing for a suitable commission. Otto Philippi's comments on the situation were withering but the arrangement was approved nonetheless.<sup>130</sup> More seriously, it became evident that the company was over-capitalised. This led to the resignation of Algernon Dewhurst in advance of a particularly stormy Extraordinary General Meeting in April 1902.<sup>131</sup> No personal impropriety was alleged, but an investigation by the Auditors did find that the profits of the component businesses prior to the amalgamation were small compared to the amount for which they were taken over. It was also found that there were wide variations between the profits earned by each business and the goodwill paid for them. The outcome was the appointment of a new Board charged with reorganising the company. This was initiated and supervised by Otto Philippi on behalf of J. & P. Coats, which by now had a large minority shareholding in the English Sewing

<sup>127</sup>. Dong-Woon Kim, 'From a Family Partnership to a Corporate Company: J. & P. Coats, Thread Manufacturers', *Textile History*, 25.2 (1994), p. 195; Craven Museum, 233/3, Newspaper Cuttings Book, *Canadian Journal of Commerce*, 7 March 1890.

<sup>128</sup>. MALS, M127/7963, English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd, Prospectus.

<sup>129</sup>. MALS, M127/7963, English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd, special report of the Auditors, 29 July 1903.

<sup>130</sup>. MALS, M127/7963, English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd, General Manager's report to the Directors, 23 Feb. 1900.

<sup>131</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 25 April 1902.



Cotton Co.<sup>132</sup> Although Lionel Dewhurst continued into the 1920s as a non-executive director of John Dewhurst & Sons, the resignation of his brother and the other events of 1902–03 mark the end of the family's serious involvement in the cotton industry.<sup>133</sup>

Even so, at local level important favourable developments took place. The weaving operation at Belle Vue Mills was closed following the amalgamation, because it was unprofitable and carried on activities which were not provided for in the English Sewing Cotton Co.'s Articles of Association.<sup>134</sup> As mentioned previously, the mill at Airtown was also disposed of in 1904. However, substantial capital investment took place at Belle Vue Mills to support the production of 'Sylko'. Of major importance was the construction of a new single-storey dye-house (demolished 1984) occupying 3600 square metres on the south side of Broughton Road. The site had been acquired in the early 1870s.<sup>135</sup> Building work started in 1899, and the facility was completed in stages over several years.<sup>136</sup> A local architect, James Hartley, was retained for the project. A new boiler house together with a 65-metre chimney (demolished 1993) designed by Stott & Sons of Oldham was completed in 1901 and the reciprocating engines were replaced by a steam turbo-alternator in 1910.<sup>137</sup> Finally, in the period after the 1914–18 War, welfare facilities were extended and a Welfare Hall was opened adjacent to the new dye-house complex.<sup>138</sup>

John Thomas Dawson retained his position as general manager of Belle Vue Mills at the amalgamation and it was he who supervised the expansion until 1909. In that year the English Sewing Cotton Co. appointed him as general manager of their subsidiary, the American Thread Co., based in Newhaven, Connecticut.<sup>139</sup> He was succeeded at Skipton by Godfrey Ermen, previously of Ermen & Roby of Manchester, one of the other founding companies of the amalgamation.<sup>140</sup> Ermen was the first general manager to be appointed from outside the local community and this, combined with the English Sewing Cotton Co.'s highly centralised structure, marked a further change in management culture.

Finally, it remains to comment further on the process of detachment of members of the Dewhurst family from the business which earlier generations of their family had created. John Bonny Dewhurst died in 1904 leaving a net estate of £106,715.<sup>141</sup> He had combined many community involvements with his business interests, especially a commitment to Liberal politics and to religious nonconformity.<sup>142</sup> In the 1840s he was a fervent supporter of the Anti-Corn Law League and his belief in freedom of thought and action was reflected especially in his view that education in Skipton should be free from denominational bias. This can be illustrated by the case of the British School, which his father had been instrumental in founding in 1844. Although it was closely associated with the Congregational Church, John Bonny Dewhurst was at pains to ensure that its religious instruction was non-denominational.<sup>143</sup> He was similarly concerned that religious bias should be avoided when a new scheme of administration for Skipton Grammar School

<sup>132</sup>. MALS, M127/7963, English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd, special report of the Auditors, 29 July 1903.

<sup>133</sup>. *Skinner's Cotton Trade Directory for 1923* (Manchester, 1923), p. 625.

<sup>134</sup>. MALS, M127/7963, English Sewing Cotton Co. Ltd, Prospectus.

<sup>135</sup>. Described in WRRD, 1889, Vol. 9, p. 188, No. 91.

<sup>136</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 21 July 1899; Craven Museum, 233, miscellaneous technical papers.

<sup>137</sup>. Holden, *Stott & Sons*, p. 238; Craven Museum, 233, miscellaneous technical papers.

<sup>138</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 23 Jan. 1925.

<sup>139</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 27 Nov. 1931.

<sup>140</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 7 May 1915.

<sup>141</sup>. Probate Registry, Wakefield, 8 Aug. 1904 (now at the Probate Registry in York).

<sup>142</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 24 June 1904.

<sup>143</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 5 Dec. 1874.

was proposed in 1867.<sup>144</sup> In middle age he was attracted by the life-style of a country gentleman and in 1873 acquired the Aireville estate consisting of about 56 hectares, including Aireville Hall (NGR: SD 977 519) on the outskirts of Skipton but within easy reach of the mills.<sup>145</sup> Although these surroundings were ostentatious, it is important to note that they were gained with the assistance of a substantial personal mortgage which was still in place during the final years of his life.<sup>146</sup>

By contrast, Thomas Henry Dewhurst concentrated on the business and lived in more modest circumstances at Whinfield (NGR: SD 989 511) on the Keighley Road and within sight of the mills. He built this property in 1872 and it now forms part of the Skipton General Hospital complex. Like his brother, he was a trustee and generous supporter (although not a member) of Skipton Congregational Church.<sup>147</sup> When he died in 1916, the net value of his estate was £133,601.<sup>148</sup>

Turning briefly to the next generation, John Bonny Dewhurst and his wife, Frances, had five surviving children. The involvement of the three sons, Algernon, Lionel and Harold, in the business has already been mentioned. In terms of marital status, Algernon and Harold remained bachelors but Lionel married Eleanor, a daughter of William Tunstill of Reedyford House and Brierfield Mills near Nelson. William Tunstill died in 1903 leaving an estate of £433,868 which places this marriage well within the appropriate range of social aspiration.<sup>149</sup> Their sister Frances remained a spinster but a younger sister, Hilda, married Arthur Stanley Wills, a member of the Bristol tobacco family. Although they lived in Bath, they also had the lease of Eshton Hall near Gargrave for a time.<sup>150</sup>

Thomas Henry Dewhurst and his wife, Maria, had thirteen surviving children, two of whom, Arthur and Edgar, were connected with the business.<sup>151</sup> Another son became a doctor and one more a solicitor. Several daughters did not marry, but of those who did, one married a solicitor and another a doctor. A third married an indigo planter, and until they retired to Gargrave, they lived on his estate in Bengal.<sup>152</sup>

It is evident that where male members of this generation opted for a career in textiles, it was cut short by the amalgamation. Others sought a career in the professions, but these choices were already made before the amalgamation and no doubt reflected the limited opportunities available in the business for younger members of the family. However, the fact that they did not seek alternative openings in cotton textiles seems to suggest that socially and perhaps financially the industry was seen as second best by those who had the means and ability to undergo training for the professions. Daughters, similarly, obtained marriage partners either from professional backgrounds or from amongst those with more exotic business interests. Thus, the pattern of endogamy which was evident in the family during the mid-nineteenth century had lapsed by this stage. Only one male member married into another textile family, but his father-in-law was a very wealthy man who was once described as 'Nelson's Rockefeller'.<sup>153</sup>

The family's final gesture towards Skipton and Craven was the sale of the Aireville

<sup>144</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 9 Feb. 1867.

<sup>145</sup>. *Craven Pioneer*, 8 Feb. 1873.

<sup>146</sup>. WRRD, 1897, Vol. 14, p. 689, No. 339, and 1902, Vol. 46, p. 556, No. 257.

<sup>147</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 30 June 1916; archives of Skipton Congregational Church (now incorporated in St Andrew's Methodist/United Reformed Church, Skipton).

<sup>148</sup>. Probate Registry, Wakefield, 31 Aug. 1916 (now at the Probate Registry in York).

<sup>149</sup>. *Nelson Leader*, 17 April 1903 and 12 June 1903.

<sup>150</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 15 Feb. 1935.

<sup>151</sup>. Archives of St Andrew's, Skipton Congregational Church, Register of Baptisms, 1857–83.

<sup>152</sup>. *Craven Herald*, 12 Feb. 1932.

<sup>153</sup>. Jeffrey Hill, *Nelson: Politics, Economy, Community* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 39.



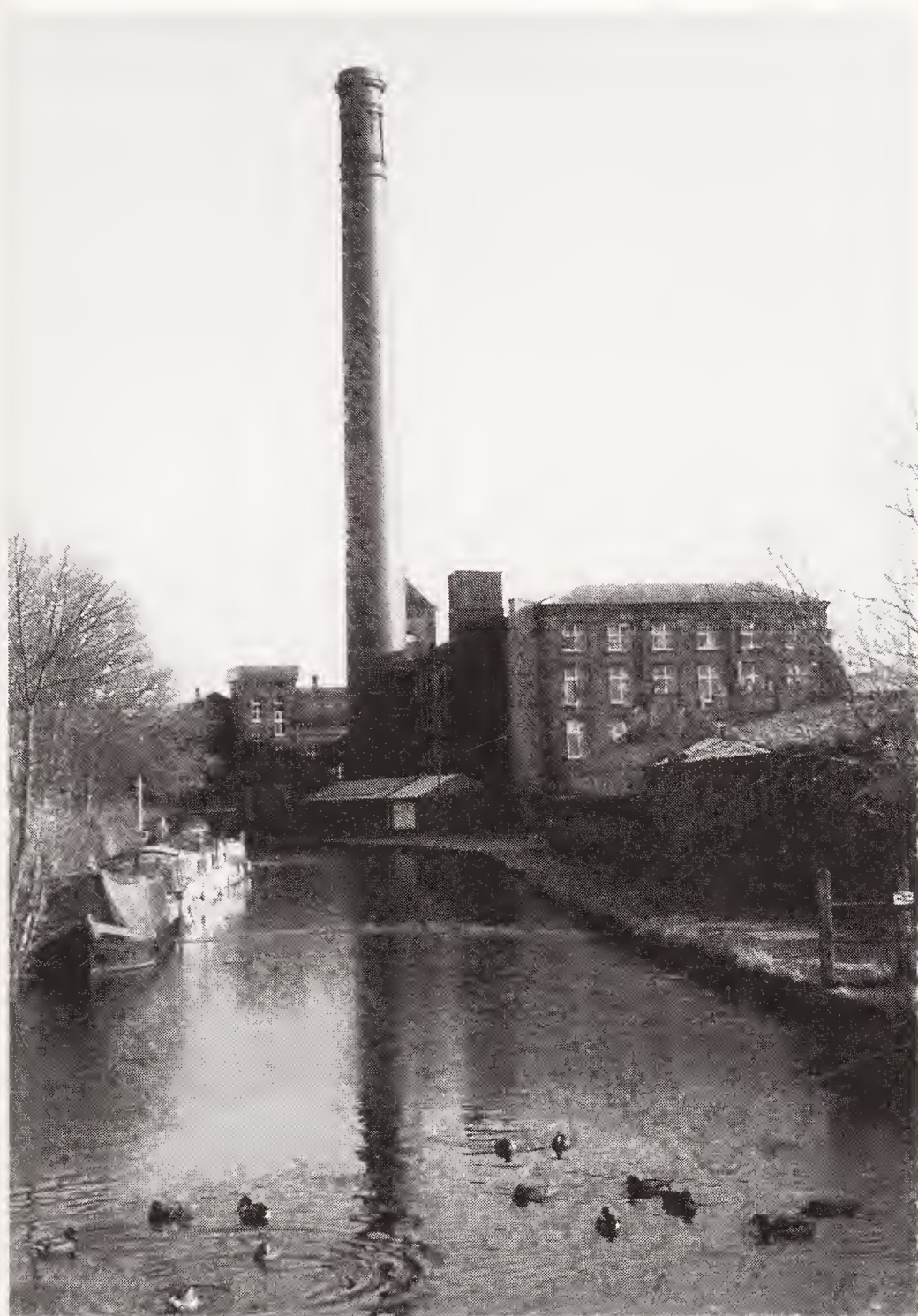


Fig. 6. Belle Vue Mills viewed from the west in 1992. Photograph by the author.

estate by Cyril Dewhurst (Lionel's son) to Skipton Urban District Council in 1945.<sup>154</sup> A public park was created, and in 1958 Aireville Hall became the nucleus of the new Aireville School, which was a successor to the former British School. This was a development of which John Dewhurst, in particular, would have greatly approved.

In 1983, Belle Vue Mills ceased to be used for the manufacture of sewing thread, and the Grade II Listed buildings are now owned and occupied by a producer of greeting cards.

## 6. CONCLUSION

It is instructive to end this account by placing the experiences described above in the context of recent debates on the nature of the family firm.<sup>155</sup>

Frequently, family firms do not survive for more than one generation, and the Dewhurst business was therefore unusual in that it had already entered its fourth generation at the time of the amalgamation. Furthermore, had it not been for the difficulties of 1902, the

<sup>154</sup>. WRRD, 1945, Vol. 14, p. 720, No. 351.

<sup>155</sup>. Many of the issues were discussed in *Business History*, 35 (1993), especially Geoffrey Jones and Mary B. Rose, 'Family Capitalism', pp. 1-16; Roy Church, 'The Family Firm in Industrial Capitalism: International Perspectives on Hypotheses and History', pp. 17-43; Stana Nenadic, 'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', pp. 86-113.



influence of the Dewhursts might have continued to dominate the affairs of the English Sewing Cotton Co. throughout the period before the First World War, and only after that might succession problems have emerged.

Prior to the amalgamation, the influence of the family on the progress of the business was overwhelmingly constructive, as each successive generation stimulated new enterprise, whether to exploit new opportunities or to defend the business from external threat. Furthermore, the family alone was responsible for successfully adapting the business to changing commercial circumstances. It is therefore of significance that the adoption of cotton processing, the exploitation of steam power, the diversification into sewing thread, and the amalgamation itself were, in each case, the results of strategic thinking by a new generation. The corollary was the need to protect increasing levels of capital investment over an extended period, thereby reinforcing the family succession. By the second half of the century, as technical training became available from external providers, there was an increasing professionalism on the part of those family members involved in management. There was also a willingness to bring in skilled managers from outside the family, albeit subject to careful selection so as to match the existing management culture.

The experience of the Dewhursts therefore provides little support for those who believe that family firms were incapable of adapting successfully to competition and change. Nor is there a great deal to confirm a preoccupation with short-term financial gain and particularly with gentrification. Even John Bonny Dewhurst's purchase of the Aireville estate by no means jeopardised investment in the business, while his involvement in community affairs did much to enhance the firm's reputation as an employer. His commitment to the family business was beyond question.

There were, of course, weaknesses, amongst which the insistence on maintaining a loss-making weaving department at Skipton and an outdated spinning plant at Airton perhaps reflect nostalgia rather than incompetence. However, it was inexperience of corporate affairs which was the more serious weakness. In particular it was a failure to grasp the basis of valuation of the component business at the time of the amalgamation and an inability to foresee the consequences of over-capitalisation in terms of shareholder reaction, which brought the dynasty to a close.

## APPENDIX: AN ACCOUNT OF DEWHURST FAMILY HISTORY

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the particular Dewhursts with whom this article is concerned were tenant farmers in an area of the Craven Lowlands bounded by Gisburn, Marton, Gargrave and Hellifield.<sup>156</sup> Between 1632 and 1638 the Gargrave parish registers mention William Duhurst of Moorber (NGR: SD 903 542) near Coniston Cold, but it is not until the following century that a continuous line of descent can be identified.

### *Isaac (1745–1823) and his family*

On his death in 1769, Isaac Dewhurst of Varley Field (NGR: SD 859 515) in the township of Horton-in-Craven near Gisburn divided his estate between his immediate family including his sons Isaac, William and Thomas.<sup>157</sup> The eldest son, Isaac, was born in 1745. He married Catherine Parkinson at Gargrave in 1771 and is described in the register as a husbandman. The couple settled at Bonber (NGR: SD 895 567), near Bell

<sup>156</sup>. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Gisburn Park MSS, MD 335/37, Fieldbooks of John Greenwood of Gisburn c.1840, show that Varley Field, Horton Pasture and Slack (see below) were amongst the estates of the Roundell / Currer family of Marton.

<sup>157</sup>. BI, Prob. Reg. 114, No. 23, Jan. 1770; Lancashire County Record Office, Bracewell PR.



Busk. Two of their sons, Phineas and William, were operative cotton spinners in 1803 and it is likely that they were employed in the local mill which Peter Garforth (Junior) had opened in 1794.<sup>158</sup> Another son, Isaac, who possibly received his initial training at Garforth's mill, married Hannah Swire at Broughton in 1801 and in 1803 was living at Broughton-cum-Elslack where he was a superintendent in a cotton factory. This was the mill which had been established by his uncle, Thomas, in 1789. Isaac died in 1823 at Kirkby Malham, where Thomas's sons, John, Isaac and James had taken the lease of a mill in 1819.<sup>159</sup>

*William (1747–1809) and his family*

William, the second son of Isaac of Varley Field, was born in 1747. He married Alice Smith of Barnoldswick as her second husband in 1785, and at the time of his death in 1809 they lived at Slack (NGR: SD 851 522), less than a mile north-west of Varley Field.<sup>160</sup> William's estate was valued at £800 and his will apportioned the estate equally between his wife and his three daughters, Susannah, Hannah and Ann.<sup>161</sup> In 1810 Susannah married Anthony Hargreaves of Horton Pasture (NGR: SD 868 517), a half mile to the east of Varley Field. Three years later she and her husband, with others, are named as defendants in a legal dispute concerned with the right of Lord Ribblesdale, as inappropriate Rector, to receive tithes of hay, lambs and wool.<sup>162</sup> In the 1820s Susannah and Anthony Hargreaves were living at the mill in Grindleton but continued as farmers.

Hannah Dewhurst, the second daughter, married Robert Johnston, a Scotch draper from Skipton in 1815, and in 1816 she and her husband were admitted to membership of Zion Independent (Congregational) Church in Skipton, the cause with which her cousin John (son of Thomas Dewhurst) and his wife, Alice, became associated the following year. John subsequently became a prominent benefactor of this church.<sup>163</sup> William Dewhurst's youngest daughter, Ann, married John Bonny of Bispham in 1826. He was the brother-in-law of John Dewhurst and an entrepreneur closely associated with the development of Blackpool as a popular holiday resort in the 1840s.<sup>164</sup>

Although William Dewhurst's will was proved within five months of his death in 1809, it was many years before his executors completed their duties. In 1810 James Smith late of Fredericksburg, Virginia, but then living at Slack, assigned land and buildings at Newhouse (NGR: SD 867 473) in Barnoldswick and Brogden townships to the executors of William Dewhurst.<sup>165</sup> In 1828 this property was granted by the executors to John Bonny (Ann's husband), Robert Johnston (Hannah's widower since her death in 1820) and to John Dewhurst.<sup>166</sup> The circumstances are not known, and in particular it has not been established why, of William's nephews, John Dewhurst became a beneficiary.

<sup>158</sup>. *Muster Roll*, p. 31; Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p. 235.

<sup>159</sup>. *Muster Roll*, p. 14; *Craven Herald*, 24 Sept. 1897.

<sup>160</sup>. *Parish Registers of Gisburne, Yorkshire, Part II, 1745–1812*, ed. A. E. Long, Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 118 (1952).

<sup>161</sup>. BI, Prob. Reg. 153, No. 403, Nov. 1809.

<sup>162</sup>. YAS, MD 335/55/3 and 5. The case was taken to the Court of Exchequer by Lord Ribblesdale. The other defendants were R. H. Roundell, Hannah and Alice Dewhurst, and Joseph Taylor.

<sup>163</sup>. Membership list contained in Archives of St Andrew's, Church Book of Zion Independent Chapel, 1834–67. The association perhaps arose from a previous link with the old established Independent Chapel at Horton-in-Craven.

<sup>164</sup>. J. K. Walton, *Blackpool* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 63.

<sup>165</sup>. WRRD, FN, p. 523, No. 654, 20 Aug. 1810. The will nominates William's daughters Hannah and Susannah and his son-in-law Anthony Hargreaves as executors. Ann was a minor at this stage.

<sup>166</sup>. WRRD, KD, p. 728, Nos 711 and 712, 6 May 1828.



However, the grant is of significance in that in 1829 John Dewhurst was able to raise finance in connection with Belle Vue Mill using the property at Newhouse as security.<sup>167</sup>

*Thomas (c. 1749–1820) and the descent of the business*

Thomas was the youngest son of Isaac of Varley Field and he was probably born in 1749. In 1782 he married Ellen Thornber at Gisburn and subsequently lived at Marton where he farmed and traded in wool fibre and yarn before opening the cotton mill at Elslack in 1789. Ellen was born at High Ground (NGR: SD 872 553) near Hellifield in 1756 and was a member of a family closely associated with Horton-in-Craven.<sup>168</sup> Early in the nineteenth century, two branches of the Thornber family left farming and entered the cotton industry, one at Runley near Settle and another in Colne where a substantial business was built up at Vivary Bridge.<sup>169</sup> The Thornbers of Colne intermarried with the England family, one member of which, having previously been a farmer and corn miller at Broughton, by 1832 was a significant cotton textile producer in Colne.<sup>170</sup> Thomas Dewhurst's grandson, John Bonny Dewhurst, married Frances England in 1844, thereby adding to the network of social linkages which underpinned commercial activity in West Craven and East Lancashire during the nineteenth century.

Of Thomas's three surviving sons, the youngest, James, born in 1794, married a daughter of Benjamin Shiers, farmer and cotton master of Threapland near Cracoe in 1816.<sup>171</sup> However, he died in 1820.<sup>172</sup> Isaac, the second son, born in 1791, married a publican's daughter, Sarah Sawley of Swinden near Hellifield in 1816.<sup>173</sup> In 1843 Isaac and Sarah's daughter, Mary Anne, married William Slingsby, cotton spinner of Bell Busk (later of Carleton-in-Craven), and their eldest son, William Cecil Slingsby, in turn married Alizon Ecroyd of Nelson in 1882, thereby creating further links between influential first generation textile families.<sup>174</sup>

Thomas's eldest son, John, was born in 1787, and after the death of his first wife, Ann Atkinson, in 1814 he married Alice Bonny, the daughter of John Bonny, farmer and the proprietor of a Blackpool hotel which catered for comparatively well-off visitors.<sup>175</sup> It will be recalled that Alice's brother, John, married John Dewhurst's cousin, Ann, the daughter of William Dewhurst, in 1826.<sup>176</sup>

The three brothers were in partnership with their father between 1813 and 1816 and thereafter with one another until the death of James in 1820 and the withdrawal of Isaac in 1829. Subsequently, John Dewhurst opened Belle Vue Mill in Skipton and carried on business as a sole trader until 1844 when his eldest son John Bonny Dewhurst (1819–1904) was taken into partnership, followed in 1852 by his second surviving son Thomas Henry Dewhurst (1829–1916).<sup>177</sup> John Dewhurst died in 1864 but his sons continued the expan-

<sup>167</sup>. WRRD, KL, p. 387, No. 322, 18 and 19 Feb. 1829.

<sup>168</sup>. NYCRO, Long Preston PR.

<sup>169</sup>. WRRD, EU, p. 131, Nos 169 and 170, 30 April 1805; will of Thomas Thornber of Colne proved at York 1 Dec. 1841, copy at Colne Local Studies Library.

<sup>170</sup>. Colne Local Studies Library, Colne (St Bartholomew's) PR; Harrison, *History of Colne*, p. 190.

<sup>171</sup>. NYCRO, Marton PR, Skipton (Holy Trinity) PR; *Muster Roll* p. 20; WRRD, GZ, p. 485, No. 540, 5 May 1819.

<sup>172</sup>. NYCRO, Skipton (Holy Trinity) PR; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10 July 1820.

<sup>173</sup>. NYCRO, Marton PR; Barnoldswick Local Studies Library, Gisburn PR (Marriages 1813–37), transcribed by Norah and Roland Hull, Max Robinson and Brian Stott for the Ribble Valley Branch of the Lancashire Family History & Heraldry Society, nd.

<sup>174</sup>. NYCRO, Skipton (Holy Trinity) PR; *Craven Pioneer*, 24 June 1882.

<sup>175</sup>. NYCRO, Marton PR, Skipton (Holy Trinity) PR; Blackpool Local Studies Library, Bispham PR; Cunliffe, *Blackpool's History*, pp. 58, 84.

<sup>176</sup>. Cunliffe erroneously states that Ann was the daughter of Isaac Dewhurst.

<sup>177</sup>. Archives of St Andrew's, Zion Independent Chapel, Skipton, Register of Births and Baptisms, 1783–1857 (contemporary transcript); *West Yorkshire Pioneer*, 12 Feb. 1886.



sion of the business including the diversification into sewing thread manufacture which was completed in 1871.

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## A SOUTH YORKSHIRE BAPTIST CAUSE: CEMETERY ROAD SHEFFIELD, 1839–1909

By Michael Booth

A noticeable feature of the Cemetery Road Baptist cause in Sheffield is that it was not a native phenomenon initiated in response to an obvious need. ('Cause' is the term used to describe the early mission stage, when the first tentative steps are taken to establish a viable membership and congregation.) Unlike Baptist causes elsewhere such as Stone Yard in Cambridge and its successor St Andrew's Street Baptist Church, Cemetery Road did not represent a coming together of scattered though local dissenters seeking a spiritual home through voluntary association. Neither did it emerge through a process of denominational strife and secession. It has instead the guise of intruder, the fruit of determined mission undertaken by outsiders in a town already boasting a long tradition of political and religious independence.

Baptist missionaries came to Sheffield from Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire via Nottingham with prejudices and attitudes formed by experience of those places. Conditioned neither by Sheffield nor by Sheffield opinion, they gave an impression of constituting a separate community within the town. Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire were heartlands of the General Baptists of the New Connexion,<sup>1</sup> a denomination founded in 1770 and Arminian in theology. Arminianism, as defined by the seventeenth-century Dutch Protestant theologian James Arminius, was a rejection of the predestinarian beliefs of Calvinism in favour of free will. Significantly for the future success of the cause in Sheffield, John Wesley was greatly influenced by Arminius. The New Connexion began as a village movement, remained attached to villages and small towns in the East Midlands until about 1820 and was first established in Nottingham by William Fox, a journeyman knitter.<sup>2</sup> In 1773 he obtained a licence to use his house as a place of dissenting worship,<sup>3</sup> and by 1799 the membership and congregation had grown sufficiently to require new premises, Stoney Street, which served for the next eighty years, becoming the largest church within the denomination and 'the glory of the New Connexion'.<sup>4</sup> These Nottingham General Baptists were 'mainly working men seeking to extend the Kingdom of God among their own kind'.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally wealthier members were recruited, but not often.

Sheffield came to the attention of the General Baptist Churches of the Midland District, based in Nottingham, as a 'place rather favourable to their doctrine and discipline'.<sup>6</sup> What brought about this conclusion? Like many industrial towns in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Sheffield had expanded rapidly, drawing its large working-

<sup>1</sup> John D. Gay, *The Geography of Religion in England* (London, 1971), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> F. M. W. Harrison, 'The Approach of the New Connexion General Baptists to a Midland Industrial Town', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 33.1 (January 1989), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cemetery Road Church, Minute Book (hereafter CRCMB) Vol. I, 1839–79, p. 1. (The Minute Books are kept at the church.)

class population from the surrounding countryside. The physical expansion of the town through speculative building absorbed former satellite villages and hamlets, and these emerged as new suburbs yet preserving much of their original identities. Despite rapid population growth and industrialisation, Sheffield retained a sense of being a confederation, of smaller more intimate communities existing within the context of the whole. The New Connexion General Baptists valued rural churches highly as a source of recruitment for town churches 'since many church members were migrants who had been nurtured in a country cause'.<sup>7</sup> What had been true of Nottingham was believed to be true of Sheffield. Moreover, Arminian theology would be familiar to those Sheffielders with experience of Methodism. From Nottingham's perspective therefore, Sheffield was ripe for mission.

A deciding factor was that Sheffield lay close to several of the denomination's larger churches able to render assistance to any new cause established in the town. In the case of what later became Cemetery Road Baptist Church it was noted that 'Several Brethren and Sisters having removed to Sheffield from various places where they had been connected with General Baptist Churches; it was thought very desirable that those friends be encouraged to commence a new Interest in the large and populous town of Sheffield'.<sup>8</sup> Baptist missionaries from Nottingham were active in the town towards the end of the eighteenth century but failed to establish a permanent cause.<sup>9</sup> Wickham considered the earliest to have been the Coalpit Lane Chapel in 1806.<sup>10</sup> It had been established in 1774 by a group seceding from the Independent (Congregationalist) Nether Chapel, who moved to Howard Street Chapel in 1790. From that date until 1819, the premises at Coalpit Lane were used by a variety of dissenting bodies, each regarding the chapel as a temporary home until new premises could be obtained. The Baptist cause of 1806 at Coalpit Lane was the forerunner of Townhead Street Chapel, established in 1814; in 1839, secession from Townhead Street resulted in Portmahon Baptist Chapel.<sup>11</sup> This year also saw a New Connexion General Baptist cause originating from Nottinghamshire that ultimately became Cemetery Road.

The cause of 1839 was quite small, consisting of just eleven members. Drawn from the ranks of small craftsmen, shopkeepers and labourers, these founder-members long retained positions of influence and authority, in some instances passing this to their descendants. William Robinson came from the Lincolnshire village of Sutton St James where there was a strong General Baptist Church.<sup>12</sup> On arriving in Sheffield he took lodgings at Silver Street Head. Luke Reuben Watts and his wife Mary both came from Epworth, the heart of Methodism. They lived in Attercliffe in 1839, a place where Dissent boasted deep roots and was still strong, before moving to Carver Street. Luke operated as a designer and modeller,<sup>13</sup> and appears as L. R. Watts, surgeon dentist of 36 Thirlwall Mount, Heeley, in *Kelly's Directory*, 1883. Luke and Mary Watts left the church in 1841, though they later returned. Samuel Gray of Osborne Street and George Whitehead of Attercliffe both came from Broughton, Nottinghamshire. Gray was a shadowy figure, but Whitehead was a surgeon who in 1859 lived at Yarra House, 135 Cemetery Road. John and Mary Anne Carter both came from Nottingham and set up home on Rockingham

<sup>7</sup> Rosemary Chadwick, 'Independence or Co-operation? The Yorkshire Baptist Association, 1880-1914', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 31.3 (October 1986), p. 360.

<sup>8</sup> CRCMB Vol. I.

<sup>9</sup> J. E. Vickers, *A Popular History of Sheffield* (Wakefield, 1982), p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, 1957), p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> CRCMB, Vol. I.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Melville and Co.'s Directory of Sheffield*, 1859.



Street.<sup>14</sup> John, who was a boot and shoemaker by trade, a traditional Nottingham industry, occupied premises at numbers 56 and 58 Pinstone Street in addition to 18 Church Street in 1859.<sup>15</sup> Another shoemaker, Cornelius Atkinson, and his companions George Armitage and William Hurt came from West Retford, and all found houses on Pinfold Street. Jane Flint, the last of the original eleven, also came from West Retford and lived on Allen Street.

These eleven formed the nucleus of the new church, meeting together on the first Sabbath in September 1839 to read the scriptures; discounting the missing twelfth — Judas Iscariot? — they were indeed the Lord's disciples set forth in the wilderness. They exhorted one another 'to patient obedience and perseverance [*sic*] in every Good Word and Work'.<sup>16</sup> The Church Minute Book records this initial meeting took place in one of the members' houses, but does not state which. It is unlikely the eleven met by chance in Sheffield and more probable they had come together to form a mission in Nottingham; they had 'come out' from an area familiar to them in order to be 'separate' in a town that was alien, motivated by 'a desire to promote the salvation of Mankind and to extend the General Baptist Connexion'.<sup>17</sup> They had no other family network at hand to sustain them, and their mission of external evangelism contrasted sharply with a turning inward and a mutual dependency. One link was essential to their new cause and needed to be carefully maintained, the link with Nottingham.

At the first meeting it was agreed that Revd Hugh Hunter and James Smith, both members of the Home Missions Committee of Nottingham and known to the group, should visit Sheffield and find a suitable place for commencing public worship. They were welcomed 'by the little band who awaited their arrival'.<sup>18</sup> Hunter provided one necessary ingredient, an ability to organise and manage. He saw to it that the Sheffield Assembly Room was secured at a rent of £2 per month, preaching the first sermon there on 13 October 1839 to a congregation of fifty adults. That afternoon he preached again to a congregation of about eighty, and then again in the evening to another seventy-five. The eleven founder-members formed the core of each congregation, together with well-disposed fellow Baptists from Townhead Street and Portmahon and a sprinkling of sermon-tasters like the Unitarian T. A. Ward. It was Hunter who commenced the first Church Book, noting careful the names, addresses and origins of the eleven and expressing the hope that 'this little band increase in Piety in Holy ZEAL in Brotherly LOVE and in Members'.<sup>19</sup>

Hunter set about organising. He presided over the first Church Meeting held in the Assembly Room, when it was resolved that William Robinson would be treasurer for the weekly subscriptions. George Armitage would be secretary for the same, and Luke R. Watts first secretary in the absence of a regular minister. In future, Watts would preside over all Church Meetings, to be held on the last Tuesday of the month after the lecture, 'when the names of persons wishing to enjoy Christian fellowship and Candidates for Baptism shall be publicly mentioned And when all business connected with the Church shall be settled'.<sup>20</sup> Watts was specifically charged with keeping in close communication with the secretary of the Nottingham Home Missions Committee, sending at three-monthly intervals full details of subscribers, subscriptions, accounts of donations and

<sup>14</sup>. CRCMB, Vol. 1, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup>. *Melville and Co.*

<sup>16</sup>. CRCMB, Vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 1.



quarterly collections. Cornelius Atkinson and John Carter jointly held disciplinary roles, looking into the reasons why members absented themselves 'whether from Affliction Adversity or a declension in religion or from any other cause'.<sup>21</sup> The early records are concerned with order and general administration: one has to wait until 1883 to find rules set down on paper. The modern, *oral* tradition is that Cemetery Road has always followed a policy of Open Communion.<sup>22</sup> The 1883 Rules make it clear that baptism was a prerequisite to fellowship: 'Exception will only be made in those cases where physical causes absolutely preclude baptism'.<sup>23</sup> Open Communion can accompany closed membership, and this may have operated here from 1839, but the church book remains silent until 1858 when members of other Christian churches were allowed to communicate.

None of the eleven founder-members was baptised in Sheffield, which suggests they arrived as committed Baptists having received baptism either in Nottingham or their home villages. The first Sheffield candidates for baptism were William C. Beardsall and John Stephenson, and this was to take place on the first Sunday in January 1840. If the weather was favourable it was agreed to hold the ceremony out of doors, but if not steps would be taken to secure a baptistry. Beardsall was the brother of Revd F. Beardsall of Manchester, whose services he promised for the baptism. This met with approval, 'providing he will also attend to the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper with fermented Wine'.<sup>24</sup> The search for indoor premises for the baptism proved difficult. An approach was made to secure Eldon Street Chapel, and Revd Charles Larom of Townhead Street Baptist Church was asked to help, but both requests proved fruitless. Finally it was agreed to accept the offer from Revd D. Rees to use Portmahon, recently seceded from Townhead Street. At the same meeting a committee was formed to 'take oversight' of church affairs, consisting of four members (Brothers Watts, Gray, Armitage and Carter) and the officiating minister. The committee's main function was to prepare matters for the Church Meetings.

The lack of permanent premises delayed the business of getting things onto a firm footing. On 31 December 1839 W. C. Beardsall offered his sister's house as a preaching place for Lord's Day afternoons, and Brothers Armitage, Carter, Hunt and Watts agreed to supply the place alternately, commencing on the second Sunday in January 1840. Previously, E. Bott had been asked to preach the doctrine of the General Baptists, and it was decided this should be made public. Soon after the first baptism other candidates presented themselves: Joseph Orton; John Priestley; Ann Pennington, who lived at 6 Stanley Street, The Wicker; Theodosia Flint; Thomas Flint and Francis Robinson. The second baptism, held on the first Sunday in March 1840, was held at Portmahon.

The lack of an officiating minister was a problem that took time to resolve. On 13 February 1840 the fledgling church agreed to ask the advice of the Nottingham Committee, a decision often repeated during the first fifty years. In this instance, advice was slow in coming. W. C. Beardsall, who had replaced Watts as Church Secretary, was empowered to write to Nottingham to obtain the services of Revd Thomas Henry Hudson.<sup>25</sup> Three weeks passed with no word from Nottingham, prompting another letter from Beardsall offering to raise £20 towards Mr Hudson's salary.<sup>26</sup> The Home Missions Committee obviously wanted to determine the average size of the congregation and to assess its influence within the Sheffield community in order to judge if it could support

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Ex info Mr G. Kitts (Deacon), 16 Aug. 1988.

<sup>23</sup> CRCMB, Vol. II. 1879-1900.

<sup>24</sup> CRCMB, Vol. I, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1840.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 May 1840.



a full-time minister. Accordingly, Nottingham asked for details and the reply was that sixty was a fair average.<sup>27</sup> Between 1839 and 1842, seventy-four people were admitted to membership, with a further 143 admitted between 1843 and 1846. These figures do not take into account the size of the actual congregation and are balanced by the fact that there were numerous removals and several expulsions. However, the figures do indicate that both membership and congregation were growing rapidly. A temporary solution was attempted when it was decided to ask a Mr Compton to administer the sacraments, but he declined on the grounds that he was not an ordained minister. The administration of the sacrament was therefore postponed until word came from Nottingham on 30 May 1841. Nottingham roundly condemned the administration of the Lord's Supper by any person not ordained as 'contrary to the principles of the Association.'<sup>28</sup>

There was great eagerness to secure Mr Hudson, but for many the matter had dragged on too long; a growing faction felt theirs was now a *Sheffield* church and the time had come to throw off the yoke of Nottingham. This was the inevitable result of recruiting Sheffield members. Hudson was therefore invited to come and preach, presiding over the Church Meeting of 20 July 1841. As still no decision was reached the membership threatened to divide, though a majority of members and all of the office-holders in the end remained loyal to the Nottingham Committee. The influence exerted by the founder-members, all determined to maintain the link with Nottingham, proved strong. On 10 August 1841 three resolutions were passed.

Resolution 1<sup>st</sup> That for the sake of our own Edification and the prospect we have of doing much good we sink and avoid promulgating our own peculiar views upon minor points on which we are not all agreed: and to unite in the doctrine and discipline of the gospel of Christ, as they are generally held by the Churches of the New connexion of General Baptists.

2<sup>nd</sup> That in Case of any difference of opinion Taking place among us, which we cannot amicably decide among ourselves without difficulty and danger, we make an appeal to the Committee, submit to their decision and co-operate with them in the government of the Church and supporting the cause, until we can be independent of that pecuniary Assistance which we derive from them and shall require during our infant state.

3<sup>rd</sup> That we unanimously desire to unite with the committee in the choice of a Pastor feeling persuaded they will consult our best interests, and hoping that both parties may be able to realize their wishes, we cordially agree to co-operate with the minister, and to support the interest to the best of our ability in every possible way and trust the Committee will render us all needfull help to . . . extend the G. Baptist cause in the populous and important Town of Sheffield.<sup>29</sup>

Clear recognition then of a time when the church may achieve financial independence of Nottingham but a strong reassertion of connexionism, a triumph for the leadership. It was from its beginning a part of a wider network designed for the maintenance of fundamental truth, godly principles and mutual aid and support, an outpost of the New Connexion, supplied and served by the Connexion. It was at this meeting, when the principles of the Connexion were reasserted, that Thomas Henry Hudson was appointed pastor. Under Hudson the regulation of church affairs began apace. Regular communion was now held on the first Sunday of the month at 3 p.m. and the pastor drew up plans for future preaching and prayer meetings.

Members were asked to consider 'what they will contribute toward the *erection* of a *Chapel*.'<sup>30</sup> They resolved to build through voluntary subscription, and those who were

<sup>27</sup>. *Ibid.*, 9 June 1840.

<sup>28</sup>. *Ibid.*, 30 May 1841.

<sup>29</sup>. *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1841.

<sup>30</sup>. *Ibid.*, 1 Sept. 1840.



disposed to assist were asked to give their names and addresses to Brother Robinson, who would call on them individually to 'ascertain what they proposed to contribute'.<sup>31</sup> They had come round to thinking of building because of the many difficulties incurred through using hired rooms and the houses of well-disposed friends, which the increasing membership and congregation had made impractical. From 13 April 1841, while not yet abandoning the Sheffield Assembly Room, the membership and congregation had met at one of its newly-established Sunday School rooms on Porter Street (the other being on Duke Street). Trustees for the building of a new chapel were appointed, together with a Building Committee (Brothers Carter, Atkinson and Flint). The site chosen was on Eyre Street, one of the late-eighteenth-century developments undertaken by the Duke of Norfolk's agent, Vincent Eyre, and named after him. The fifty-seventh Church Meeting determined that the corner-stone should be laid on 18 April 1842. Tickets for the stone-laying ceremony were sold at one shilling each, and the nearby Nether Chapel on South Street was obtained for the customary fund-raising tea and evening meeting. Mr Hudson, as pastor, was given the honour of laying the stone.

Eyre Street Chapel proved too small almost as soon as it was built. The construction resulted in a deficit, and resolution after resolution was passed at subsequent Church Meetings to reduce the debt. The surrounding area had become increasingly run-down and dilapidated; men such as Cornelius Atkinson, now settled and prosperous, sought better accommodation for themselves and their families and began to look elsewhere. The decision was taken to build again, a new chapel on the edge of the Anglican parish of St Mary's, Bramall Lane, then a 'green-field' site favoured by the well-to-do. The original Trust Deed of 22 August 1842 made it lawful to sell the chapel, and the Church Meeting of 18 March 1858 concluded that Eyre Street 'by reason of the increase of the members' had become too small.<sup>32</sup> It was duly sold and the proceeds used towards the new building, enhanced by private subscription from both members and congregation. James Wilson Esq., of the Wilson of Sharrow family, was asked to lay the foundation stone; he had left the Church of England in 1842 and was a member of Townhead Street Baptist Church. Wilson was a shrewd choice; he had become known amongst Sheffield Baptists for his generous contribution of £600 to Glossop Road Baptist Church, considerably easing their debt of £3000.

The Sheffield architects Messrs Flockton were asked to design the new building. William Flockton (d. 1864) had designed Wesley College in Sheffield, opened in 1838 at a cost of £14,500. His son, Thomas Flockton (d. 1899), was educated there before training as an architect in his father's service and spending two years studying in London under the famous Sir Gilbert Scott.<sup>33</sup> Thomas Flockton was a 'profound follower' of the Gothic Revival and his own work included Endcliffe Hall, Oakbrook, Tapton Hall, Christ Church Pitsmoor, St Thomas's Brightside and, together with his partner Gibbs, St John's Ranmoor. He had built the New Connexion chapel at Broomhall for Mark Firth. His design for Cemetery Road however was described as 'Romanesque', built of red brick faced with stone, a rectangular building with twin towers on either side of the front elevation facing Cemetery Road.<sup>34</sup> This was an unusual style for a nonconformist building, a break from the plain neo-classicism hitherto favoured and an assertion of new confidence seen demonstrated elsewhere perhaps in the Baptist Church and school rooms built by Stephen Chivers at Histon in Cambridgeshire. The main entrance was protected

<sup>31.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32.</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 March 1858.

<sup>33.</sup> J. H. Stainton, *The Making of Sheffield, 1865-1914* (Sheffield, 1924), p. 227.

<sup>34.</sup> Pawson and Brailsford, *The Illustrated Guide to Sheffield and Neighbourhood* (Sheffield, 1862), p. 56.



by a three-arch colonnade in stone, above which was a large circular or rose window of coloured glass. The scale was impressive: a warren of schoolrooms and committee rooms underneath and around the main body itself, extra facilities promoting Christian endeavour. Minute books record numerous teas organised by Tea Committees, the preparations taking place in the kitchens below. One example, from 1906, will suffice: the Women's 'At Home' was held every Monday from 2.30 to 4 p.m. in the lecture hall, offering a nursery full of toys for babies under the supervision of staff helpers. This enabled mothers to enjoy the social event without worry. Tea was served at a halfpenny a cup and there was always a programme of entertainment including 'Bright Singing, Happy Conversation, Solos, Choruses, Recitations or Readings and Addresses, all saturated with the Gospel'. The visiting missionary speaker, Mr A. J. Sudd, was advertised as conducting 'the Happiest Meeting you have ever been to'.<sup>35</sup>

Hudson's pastorate saw the replacement of the ad hoc internal organisation of affairs by a firm guiding hand. In the autumn of 1842 'the propriety of having Deacons' was considered. The Nottingham Committee was thanked 'for the care and support they have rendered us since the commencement of the cause' which it was hoped would continue 'until we are able to support the cause ourselves, which we have a desire to do as soon as possible'.<sup>36</sup> Soon there were six elected deacons in office: William Robinson (forty-four votes), John Carter (twenty-one votes), Cornelius Atkinson (thirty-five votes), Thomas Flint (forty-four votes), Daniel Taylor Ingham (thirty-three votes) and William Linley (thirty-one votes), each to serve for a trial period of twelve months.<sup>37</sup> Three were founder-members out of Nottinghamshire but the others were not so tied to the past. Ingham, related to Dan Taylor, one of the leaders of the New Connexion General Baptists, was a printer, bookseller and stationer by trade, living at 1 Matilda Street in 1883 though by 1890 he had moved to 29 South Street (now The Moor).<sup>38</sup> The rules applied to the office of deacon were not set down until 1883 when Rule 7 stated that the term of office should be three years, after which time deacons were eligible for re-election. For over forty years this meant the diaconate was in the hands of a limited number of individuals.

The Trust Deed of 1863 contained specific clauses relating to Church Meetings and membership. Church Meetings were to be open to all baptised, communicant members, and notice had to be given by a deacon in public worship on the preceding Sunday. The pastor was charged with faithfully preaching and teaching the doctrines of the General Baptists, which were 'the Divine inspiration of Holy Scripture and that man is of nature a fallen and sinful being' and that 'man is justified by faith alone in the Lord Jesus Christ with a perpetual obligation to the moral law'.<sup>39</sup>

The earliest ventures into 'outreach' included the establishment of a Sunday School on Duke Street in 1840 (which moved to new premises in 1850), and in 1853 it was agreed to unite 'with the Eldon St. friends to form a Sheffield Augsilery [*sic*] to the Foreign Missionary Society'.<sup>40</sup> They became involved in preaching at Ranmoor, though this was disbanded in 1844. During the move from Eyre Street to Cemetery Road external missionary work was maintained but not expanded. The Duke Street Sunday School moved to new premises in 1850 and the old building converted to the Park Mission

35. CRCMB, Vol. I. Card advertisement stuck inside.

36. *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1842.

37. *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1843.

38. *Kelly's Directory of Sheffield 1883 and 1890*.

39. K. G. Jones, 'The Authority of the Trust Deed: A Yorkshire Perspective', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 33.3 (July 1989), pp. 108-09.

40. CRCMB, Vol. I, 29 Jan. 1853.



Station. Then, in 1871, it was felt desirable to begin missionary work in the Heeley area, only just constituted as an Anglican parish in 1846 and containing in 1868 an estimated 2000 dissenters.<sup>41</sup> Again, Heeley was thought suitable because the Arminian doctrines of the New Connexion would appeal to those familiar with Methodist preaching: Heeley had one Wesleyan, two Reformed Wesleyan and one Primitive Methodist Church. The Heeley project was put into the hand of a committee of five who reported back on 2 August 1871 on the possibility of purchasing the old Wesleyan Methodist chapel from the Trustees for the sum of £200. The committee was prepared to take on the responsibility for the purchase, and the Cemetery Road declared itself happy to leave the matter in their hands 'with the understanding that the Church have only the management of the affair without any financial or legal responsibility'.<sup>42</sup>

Rural itinerancy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was successful because it relied upon committed lay agencies. Gathered congregations were content to use barn and field, a system of evangelisation with the distinct merit of being cheap. However, its very success led to a growing desire to consolidate and build. Victorian nonconformity partly inherited and partly created a multiplicity of small rural congregations that became insolvent when pushed or pressured into chapel building. Later, with the emergence of the Oxford Movement, there were growing fears that young people were being drawn to the ritualistic splendours of the parish church. In turn this encouraged the building of grander, more elaborate chapels, and the financial burden on membership and congregation increased accordingly. We come full-circle to the need to recruit more members. From 1869 to 1909 at Cemetery Road there was steady growth in membership, from 161 with 520 scholars attending Sunday School in 1869 to 448 with 500 scholars, thirty-eight Sunday School teachers and one local preacher attached to the Church in 1909.

This success corresponds to the half century known as 'the years of religious boom' in Sheffield, when the seeds of evangelising bore fruit. There was a frenzy of chapel building and street-corner evangelising by the nonconformist denominations that the Established Church could not match even when, in the summer of 1854, the Vicar of Sheffield began preaching out in the open, something hitherto unknown. In the 1860s special religious services were held for working men in the town's theatres and in 1874 the American evangelists Moody and Sankey visited Sheffield making 526 conversions.<sup>43</sup> Gypsy Smith helped establish the 32<sup>nd</sup> Blood and Fire Corps of the Salvation Army, its four halls with a total Sunday attendance of around 4000.<sup>44</sup> The Workmen's Mission to Workmen was set up in 1880, moving its base to the Montgomery Hall soon after and boasting the largest working-class congregation in Sheffield, numbering over 2000 men and their families.<sup>45</sup>

In this atmosphere of evangelism Cemetery Road certainly benefited, though membership figures reveal a slight drop in 1889 to 215 members, 291 scholars and thirty-eight Sunday School teachers. The 1880s were a difficult time for Sheffield industry, and in 1884 trade 'was the worst of the present decade'.<sup>46</sup> Some Cemetery Road members were directly involved with the steel and associated industries, though not many. Most continued to be drawn from the ranks of the small shopkeepers, tradesmen and craftsmen, subsidiary trades still affected indirectly by industrial slump. The drop in membership did not last long and is not commented upon in any of the records. By the mid-1890s

<sup>41</sup>. Borthwick Institute, York, Visitation Returns, V.1868 (Sheffield).

<sup>42</sup>. CRCMB, Vol. I, 3 May 1871.

<sup>43</sup>. Wickham, *Church and People*, p. 156.

<sup>44</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>45</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 160.



Cemetery Road was settled and prosperous, able to attract sufficient members of the prosperous middle-classes to support it financially. In 1899, when watchmaker, senior deacon and Church Secretary Louis Eberlin proposed wholehearted approval of the Twentieth Century Fund inaugurated by the Baptist Union, pledging 'to use its best endeavours to take a worthy part . . . in raising the suggested quarter of a Million pounds, for the extension of the principles of the Baptist denomination', he was confident that the Church would respond fully.<sup>47</sup> It did not disappoint him.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century Cemetery Road continues to thrive as an inner-city church. It has a current membership of over two hundred, and though this is less than half that of 1909 it is perhaps more diverse, covering more than twenty different nationalities. There is an active Junior Church for young people and part of the building houses not only the South Yorkshire Industrial Mission but also a café, the aim being to form a bridge between Church and community. Outreach, with a strong international element, is still a fundamental part of the work of Cemetery Road. The Church supports the work of the Baptist Missionary Society and maintains links with Guinea. Other links include supporting the Matthew Baptist Church in Riga, Latvia, and El Shaddai, a charity that looks after homeless children in India.

<sup>47</sup>. CRCMB, Vol. II, 29 May 1899.





## BOOK REVIEWS

ENGLAND, AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL GUIDE TO SITES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO AD 1600. By TIMOTHY DARVILL, PAUL STAMPER and JANE TIMBY. 22 x 14 cm. Pp. xxviii and 494. Illus 200. Oxford University Press, 2002 (hbk), 2003 (pbk). Price: £17.99 (hbk), £14.99 (pbk). ISBN 0-19-285326-0 (hbk); 0-19-284101-7 (pbk).

This attractively produced book has an introduction summarising in sixty-eight pages the archaeology and history of England up to the Reformation, a glossary of less familiar terms, a chronology, two indexes of sites, lists of major museums and relevant societies, and an up-to-date book list. The core is a gazetteer of 495 sites arranged by regions. This includes most prehistoric and Roman sites, even if there is little to see, but is curiously selective of the medieval sites. It is difficult to see by what criteria Hereford and Worcester cathedrals, the Anglo-Saxon churches of Brixworth and Stow, or the castles or mansions of Haddon Hall, Kenilworth, Sandal and South Wingfield are excluded. There are ten 'text boxes' on subjects like Druids, Long Barrows and The Roman Army, while entries on Somerset bench ends and ridge-and-furrow in Northamptonshire are included, but little on Saxon crosses or deserted medieval villages.

Our county is represented by thirty-six sites, only four of them in West Yorkshire and one in South Yorkshire, with no mention of Byland Abbey, Pontefract, Richmond or Ripon. Whitby Abbey only appears on the dust jacket, and York Minster receives five lines. The Blackstone Edge road is still regarded as Roman and Dane's Dyke as prehistoric. Some other counties are more summarily dismissed: Bedfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Surrey have only three or four entries each, compared with Northumberland (thirty-seven) and Wiltshire (twenty-one).

For whom is this guide intended? The reader is assumed to be completely ignorant of archaeology and history, needing to be told what barrows are or when the Norman Conquest took place, satisfied by a few lines on Canterbury Cathedral. He will find the clearly reproduced photographs and plans informative, though he might be puzzled to find Cambridge located twice, once wrongly on p. 217, and a Chalgate in York (for Lower Friargate), and be misled by the definitions of vicars choral as laymen and friars as monks. Iron Age burials are not 'very rare', at least in East Yorkshire. However, if he is satisfied with brief entries and is stimulated to progress to sources listed in the bibliography, this book compares well with the *Collins Field Guide to Archaeology in Britain* for sites described.

York

Ronald Butler

A NEW LINK TO THE PAST. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE OF THE M1-A1 LINK ROAD. Edited by I. ROBERTS, A. BURGESS and D. BERG. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. x and 330. Illus 171. Tables 66. West Yorkshire Archaeology Service. (Yorkshire Archaeology Series 7) Morley, 2001. Price not stated. ISBN 1 870453 26 3.

Motorways like gas and water pipelines provide transects through the landscape, apparently arbitrary except that they usually avoid existing villages and identifiable protected sites. This substantial volume covers just such a transect, sweeping from the Aire valley at Bullerthorpe Lane to the Cock Beck east of Aberford; it is in effect Garforth's northern bypass. The archaeological sites are largely upon Coal Measures sandstones though a significant number are on the Magnesian limestone. In a carefully arranged report with a high standard of illustrations the reader is given four well-defined sections: prospection, excavation, material evidence and synthesis. In many ways the first and last aspects are the most revealing about the project.

Often in archaeological fieldwork and excavation the decisions about the required level of

response are seldom discussed. Here there is a clear statement of what the research problems were, how it was decided to tackle them, what approaches were available and what results from the preliminary prospection encouraged the more time-consuming practice of excavation and site-observation. It was freely admitted that this approach favoured some soil compositions rather than others and detected extensive linear features rather than compact isolated sites.

The excavations are presented in eight different chapters. The majority comprises late Iron Age and Roman settlements, enclosures and field systems. One chapter concentrates on the Roman Ridge, giving a detailed study of road construction and the earlier field systems it sliced across. The chapter of most interest to this reviewer concerned the linear earthworks of Grims Ditch alongside Bullerthorpe Lane and two of the Aberford Dykes: Becca Bank and South Dyke. The excavations seemed to show that these were late Iron Age defence systems or territorial boundaries. Though they continued to be an important landscape feature for many centuries they did not originate in the sub-Roman period nor did they define the boundary of Elmet or any sub-region within it.

The material evidence is immaculately presented. Pottery is discussed by period, other artefacts are classified by type of material and environmental data is examined on a site by site basis. Human burial and animal bone are also analysed.

The final section of synthesis and discussion concentrates on two themes. The first is how has this group of excavations and field observations contributed to a better understanding of the past in the modern county of West Yorkshire and particularly its eastern border; this is discussed by four separate period specialists. The second and equally interesting aspect is what lessons can be learnt from this project to aid the planning of future projects of a similar extensive nature. Questions are raised concerning the visibility of sites and recommendations are made urging the greater use of scientific dating, especially radiocarbon but also magnetic variation. This is important for dating the later Bronze Age and the sub-Roman settlements. This evaluation of methods and results is very refreshing.

Inevitably in a report on this scale and of this detail there are likely to be errors. Some references showed where chapter numbering seemed to have been changed at a late stage. A few bibliographical references needed greater precision. However these were minor blemishes. The overall impression is of a piece of work impressively presented. It maintains the high standard of publication produced by West Yorkshire Archaeological Services in the past decade.

Cambridge

Lawrence Butler

**THE PREHISTORY OF SADDLEWORTH AND ADJACENT AREAS.** By W. P. B. STONEHOUSE. Edited by DAVID CHADDERTON. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. 108. Illus 44. Colour pls 9. Saddleworth Archaeological Trust, 2001. Price: £7.50. ISBN 0-9540702-1-6.

One of two books (for a review of the other, *Roman Saddleworth*, see below) recently published by the Saddleworth Archaeological Trust with the help of funding by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The bulk of the book was written by the late Dr Stonehouse prior to 1995 with selected additional information. Handsomely produced on glossy paper, the book offers the general reader a very readable and accessible summary introduction to earlier work on the prehistoric with details of a number of sites and finds within its area of focus, whilst also including material of interest to the specialist. The book consists of a series of chapters running chronologically from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age, with details of individual finds and sites from the Neolithic onwards, followed by fairly short summary discussions for each period, and with an account of the life and work of Francis Buckley as an appendix. The main strengths of the book lie in its profuse illustrations of finds (drawn together mostly from previously published material) and, not surprisingly given Dr Stonehouse's work, in the general overview he is able to provide on the nature of Mesolithic sites in the Saddleworth area.

Dr Stonehouse identifies the favoured locations for Mesolithic sites as the summits of gentle hills with widespread views; south facing slopes; areas near springs and along shelves of land above streams. Flint scatters vary from 4 square metres in size to over 150 square metres, usually forming



an oval-shaped scatter with a sharply defined edge, suggestive of the original presence of a wind-break or hut, focused on a hearth.

Material from the earlier Mesolithic (characterised by the use of comparatively larger and simpler microliths than later in the period) appears to be mostly (90 per cent) a grey or white opaque flint (originating from the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Wolds) although he believes that glacial erratics from the Vale of Trent may have been a source. Later sites appear to have a greater variety of flint with a range of colours and are markedly more numerous than earlier ones (with a ratio of 4:1), although the later Mesolithic sites are usually smaller in area, suggestive of a shorter occupation period or by fewer people. There are also differences in the nature of the flint assemblages from upland and lowland sites, microliths predominating on smaller upland sites (identified as probable hunting sites), whilst lower sites contain a higher proportion of scrapers and burins.

The radiocarbon dates quoted in the main body of the text use an obsolete manner of notation (out of respect to the views of Dr Stonehouse who did not wish to see them altered), but the book benefits from an admirably lucid letter from Professor Switsur of the Radiocarbon Dating Research Group, Anglia University, Cambridge (reproduced in the appendices) explaining the current notation and with a very useful corrected table of a range of radiocarbon dates from various local sites. The publication's few weak points include the lack of an index; the lack of a scale on a number of photographs of objects taken for the book (which are shown variously at 3.6 times, 2.8 times and 1.4 times full size); and the lack of a cardinal point when describing certain photographic views.

*West Yorkshire Archaeology Service*

*Ian Sanderson*

**ROMAN SADDLEWORTH: THE HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND VISIBLE REMAINS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF AN AREA IN THE PENNINES.** By KEN BOOTH. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. vii and 105. Figs 33. Pls 50 (incl. 8 in colour). Saddleworth Archaeological Trust, 2001. Price: £7.50. ISBN 0-9540702-0-8.

Published as a companion volume to *The Prehistory of Saddleworth & Adjacent Areas* (reviewed above), the book has similar high production values (supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund) and focuses on the site of the Roman fort at Castleshaw, Greater Manchester. The book has been written 'neither as a textbook nor as a guide but rather as an essay on the known history, exploration and archaeology of a Roman outpost in the Pennines' intended for 'the more serious student of local [Saddleworth] history'. As such it succeeds admirably and deserves a wider readership than its defined audience.

The book's ten chapters are well written, readable, accessible and extensively illustrated. The initial chapters cover fairly summarily 'The Setting', 'Before The Romans' and 'Conquest and Occupation', with more detailed consideration beginning with the local road system. Interestingly, Ken Booth has identified the Roman road course from Saddleworth to Slack Roman fort (under Outlane golf course in West Yorkshire) and believes that the line followed is that nearly as described by Percival and Watson in the eighteenth century, rather than that identified by Margary, from whom the Ordnance Survey have taken their cue. Other chapters deal with the succession of forts on the site, the area immediately outside the forts, and a detailed discussion both of the history of excavation on the site and the finds, with separate chapters discussing coinage and tile stamps and the Romans' name for the site. The book includes more detailed background information than is often provided on such things as the Roman coinage system and Roman burial law and customs, to help the reader understand the significance of the finds, information that the non-specialist reader would otherwise have difficulty locating.

The book was obviously originally written with numbered references. These survive in the bibliography where individual chapters are referenced. Unfortunately, somewhere in the production process a decision has been made to delete the reference numbers from the text. This is not as bad as it sounds as the way the book has been written often allows one to identify the reference with a fair degree of confidence (although page numbers are not given for references). This is perhaps the most serious criticism and will not concern the majority of readers for whom



the book is intended. Likewise, other minor criticisms include the Palaeolithic extending until 7600 BC and the identification of Aldborough as the main (pre-Conquest) settlement of the Brigantes. These criticisms should not be seen as detracting seriously from the overall aim of the books and the Saddleworth Archaeological Trust are to be congratulated on their production. Hopefully, other societies will look to the Lottery Fund to produce material of equal quality.

*West Yorkshire Archaeology Service*

*Ian Sanderson*

**CORPUS OF ANGLO-SAXON STONE SCULPTURE VI: NORTHERN YORKSHIRE.** By JAMES LANG. 35 x 21.5 cm. Pp. 540. Illus 1204. Figs 20. Tables 4. British Academy, OUP, 2001. Price: £130. ISBN 0-19-726256-2.

This tremendous addition to the British Academy's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* is a fitting tribute to James Lang, the primary author. Jim died on 24 January 1997 after a courageous battle against illness. His enthusiasm and eloquence for the study of the pre-Conquest sculpture of northern England will be long remembered by all those who ever visited a site with Jim or who were lectured by him. But this volume is also tribute to the team that laboured to complete the work after Jim's death: Louise Henderson, his research assistant for the last six months; Derek Craig, Research Fellow; and of course, Rosemary Cramp, General Editor.

The volume covers the historic North Riding of Yorkshire, excluding those parts already covered in Jim's East Yorkshire and York volume, Volume III of the series. Thus it includes the important Anglo-Saxon crosses at Easby and Masham and the major collections of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture at Brompton, Kirklevington and Lythe, but not the material from Ryedale or from York itself. It demonstrates the transition from the presence of sculpture only at major monasteries such as Whitby or at minster churches or local estate centres, to the fragmentation of large estates into individual landholdings and the erection of crosses as grave memorials by the Anglo-Scandinavian elite c. 920-54, after the arrival of the Hiberno-Norse. This shift from ecclesiastical to secular patronage is seen in both the iconography and form of the sculpture. There are also different stylistic connections. Whilst the Anglian crosses have links with West Yorkshire and Mercia, and wider parallels with Carolingian Europe, the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture has Cumbrian links and Irish themes, such as the introduction of the crucifixion scene, an important and sophisticated Christian message for fresh converts from paganism.

Volume VI of the *Corpus* is produced to the usual high standards set by this series with a superb set of photographs and authoritative catalogue entries covering the discovery of the stones, description of the sculpture and its geology, with a discussion and bibliography for each stone. There are also introductory essays on the regional geology by John Senior and the inscriptions by John Higgitt.

Like its predecessors this volume provides a firm foundation for numerous research projects, and even suggests a few themes which need pursuing, including the stylistic connections of the sculpture with other regions. Unfortunately the cost, although not excessive for a reference work of such quality, will prevent wide circulation outside academic libraries; thus it is exciting that the *Corpus* project is now making plans to make past volumes available online. The project website also provides updated information about the location of North Riding stones, following the reorganisation of the Whitby stones by English Heritage.

*University of York*

*Julian D. Richards*

**THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND: A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING, VOLUME VII; HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE MIDDLE AND NORTH DIVISIONS.** Edited by G. H. R. KENT. 31 x 21 cm. Pp. 455. Figs 35. Pls 65. Maps 55. London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 2002. Price: £85. ISBN 0-19-722797-X.

Holderness, an area of flat, largely agricultural clayland, lies east of the River Hull, stretching as far as the North Sea, bounded on the north by the Earl's Dyke and on the south by the Humber.



Its most distinctive geographical feature is the 'hook' of land that forms the northern estuarial coast of the River Humber. Even today, Holderness is little known: it has only three small towns (Hedon, Hornsea and Withernsea), the roads are narrow and winding, and its quiet charms of small villages with brick houses and low-towered grey stone churches are not enough to attract many visitors. The rapidly eroding coastline occasionally makes national headlines: but generally Holderness seems to represent that part of Larkin's *Here*, 'fast-shadowed wheat-fields, running high as hedges, isolate villages, where removed lives loneliness clarifies'.

This volume of the *Victoria County History* (sponsored by the University of Hull and the East Riding of Yorkshire Council) completes the account of Holderness, the first part of which, the South Division plus Hedon, Preston and Waxholme, was published in 1984. For the history of the administration of Holderness, the reader will need to refer to the earlier *VCH* volume. Generally the editors of the *VCH* never allow repetition or updating of material to be found in earlier volumes: this has disadvantages, as, for instance, the prehistory of Holderness was deemed to be covered in the Yorkshire volumes published early last century, under 'Early Man' (vol. i, 1907) or 'Ancient Earthworks' and 'Anglo-Saxon remains' (vol. ii, 1912), so that more recent discoveries and interpretations are referred to very briefly, if at all. The same reluctance to revisit topics of earlier volumes means that the history of the wealthy and influential Cistercian abbey of Meaux, whose landholdings and drainage activities dominated a large part of Holderness for 400 years, is not revised: readers interested in the abbey are referred to *VCH Yorkshire* vol. iii (1913).

After four pages of general introduction, the familiar *VCH* formula of the parish or township history begins. In a typical entry (Brandesburton, for example) the location of the parish is described, the origin of its name and its acreage, followed by its population from the 1370s poll-tax onwards (no mention of the Domesday numbers), a history of enclosure and of drainage, and of roads and river communications. A second section describes the shape of the village and suggests dates for the most significant buildings. 'Manors and other estates', the building blocks of all the *VCH* county volumes, begins with Domesday and covers manorial history in detail until the late twentieth century. 'Economic History' gives more details of agriculture and enclosure, markets and fairs, mills and industry. 'Local Government' is chiefly an account of nineteenth-century arrangements. 'Church' and 'Nonconformity' cover the physical and the economic history of the parish church and other places of religion; 'Education' and 'Charities' complete a typical entry. These are so thoroughly researched and annotated, that *VCH* volumes are notoriously difficult to review: the small town of Hornsea, for instance, covered in twenty-three pages, has nearly 500 footnotes: most of these contain three or four different references, almost all to primary sources, some manuscript, some printed. In addition to sources in the Public Record Office (the list of classes used is on p. xvi), the East Riding is fortunate in having a large number of family and estate archives, divided between the county record office and the University of Hull, and the records of a Registry of Deeds established in the early eighteenth century. There are also county and local histories, of which much the fullest is George Poulson's *History of Holderness*, published in 1840-41, based on materials collected in the late eighteenth century and other material at Burton Constable. Several of Poulson's illustrations were taken from an earlier, unpublished collection by William Dade, for example the charming picture of the half derelict Swine in 1784 (Fig. 7).

For some topics it would be helpful to have some general analysis, perhaps in a longer introduction, in addition to the township entries: coastal erosion, for instance, a very important matter for Holderness, can be pursued through the index, but only place by place. There is little on the seamier side of life: Holderness was notorious for piracy, smuggling and wrecking, but these crimes do not figure here.

The first footnote to each parish description (there are twenty-seven parishes in this volume) records when it was written. The age of some of the descriptions surprised this reviewer: the earliest were written in 1989 and half of those remaining before 1995. Some have been revised 'later' but it is not clear how extensive these revisions were. Some were undoubtedly made by collation with the new edition of Pevsner (Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 1995), but nevertheless there are some worrying discrepancies between dates of buildings given in the *VCH* text, and Pevsner & Neave. For instance, in the parish of Burton Pidsea there are five. Most of these differences in date are minor: the difficulty for the historian using both the *VCH* and Pevsner & Neave is that each of the volumes is deemed



excellent authority, but there seems no way of reconciling the differences. To understand the history of the fabric of parish churches, both sources should be read: generally the *VCH* has the more detail of successive restorations, but Pevsner & Neave often have far more interesting accounts of monuments, for instance within Hornsea church.

There are more illustrations than in previous volumes, a welcome improvement, although they are not always well reproduced. The photographs are collected together in the middle of the volume, printed on pages with very wide white borders, perhaps because of the different sizes of the originals: surely not necessary with modern technology. The frontispieces and plates 1 and 2 are particularly disappointing: this reviewer could find no coastguard cottages in plate 1, only the depressing caravan park, and plate 2 gives no idea of the glories of the tremendous castle earthworks at Skipsea.

Each parish has at least one map or plan ('drafted by the authors of the respective articles except for those on pp. oo, which are by Catherine Pyke', p. xii: hers remain unknown). Some have many plans; the townships of Swine parish have thirteen, ranging from 1621 to 1860. They are generally clear and well labelled, but unnumbered: the reproduction of the first edition of the OS map for Burton Constable (1850s) is not as good as it might be. There are thirty-four text figures, chiefly drawn from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources, often of great charm. I would urge that the sources of these figures be included in the list of figures at the beginning of the volume (as is the case with the maps), or in the captions themselves. To find the source of the engraving of fig. 16, Lissett chapel, for instance, one must read the text and decode footnote 1: 'Poulson, *Holderness*, i. 259-62, illus.' Poulson's full title and publication date must be sought in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the volume.

The illustrations are disappointing when compared with the originals. The reproduction of the map (Fig. 20) of Hornsea Mere from Poulson, which has lost its captions and the sea-coast, is particularly bad, with a dark line through the plan which is not in the original plate; and as this is a well known map, it might have been more interesting to use one of the two earlier manuscript plans of Hornsea in the County Record Office.

Many small places in Yorkshire will never generate histories of their own: for an account of the tiny hamlet of Arnold, for example, the reader will for many decades be dependent upon the entry in the *VCH*. It is an excellent enterprise to write of such small places, and the entries are clear and solidly based on most of the available sources. If the present reviewer has some criticisms, they should not obscure the splendid achievements of the East Yorkshire volumes.

*Beverley*

*Barbara English*

**ARCHBISHOP THOMAS OF BAYEUX AND THE NORMAN CATHEDRAL AT YORK.**  
By CHRISTOPHER NORTON. 21 x 15 cm. Pp. 40. Illus 12. University of York, Borthwick Paper No. 100, York, 2001. Price: £4. ISBN 0 903857 85 5.

In this booklet Dr Norton discusses the career in York of Thomas of Bayeux, appointed archbishop in 1070, supplementing Hugh the Chanter's and William of Malmesbury's accounts with what can be deduced from the foundations of his cathedral and the hypothetical rearrangement of its precinct. Most of this paper is devoted to discussion of the unusual plan of the Norman Minster, to the mathematics behind its layout, and especially to the eastern arm, for which three alternative reconstructions are offered. Parallels to the plan with an aisleless nave and long eastern arm have previously been hard to find, though two capitals found in the excavations most resemble examples from the crypt of Bayeux Cathedral. However, a church with a similar plan, though on a smaller scale, seems to have preceded the surviving church of St Georges de Boscherville in Normandy. Dr Norton suggests that Thomas's cathedral had a hall crypt under its choir, as did Archbishop Roger's in the next century, and finds analogies at Lastingham and La Celle-Condé. He also gives a convincing explanation for Thomas's objections to the establishment of St Mary's Abbey, seen as a threat to his plans for the church of York.

Those who have not read Dr Norton's article in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1998 will find here a useful summary of his ideas on the suggested pre-Norman cathedral



enclosure, a 2-acre square to the north of the present Minster but aligned north-east/south-west, not quite on the Roman fortress's axes. This attractive hypothesis depends on a short length of boundary ditch found under the Minster Library and the parallel line of the medieval archbishop's palace courtyard on the south-west. It has the merit of placing the late Saxon cemetery excavated under the present south transept to the south of the presumed site of the pre-Norman cathedral, rather than to its north, though the distribution of small finds of the period suggests that the earlier church may have stood nearer Minster Gates. Unfortunately the static water tank dug in 1941 has largely destroyed the location where the Anglo-Saxon Minster might have stood, and Angelo Raine's reminiscences of what he saw when the tank was excavated are not very helpful. The exchanges of land in the 1820s between the archbishop, dean and chapter and dean have also confused the situation so that the archbishop's palace area is now Dean's Park and the (third) deanery is now to the north-east of the Minster instead of to the south. Only further archaeological excavation in parts of the area unaffected by the tank can possibly prove Dr Norton's suggestions, while the choir has been so rebuilt that further details of the Norman arrangements are unlikely to be discovered. Similarly, the suggestion also made that the church of St Michael-le-Belfrey originated as a free-standing wooden bell tower, as at Canterbury, Norwich and Worcester, can only be confirmed by excavation.

This booklet is a thought-provoking account of the physical and administrative changes made between 1070 and 1100 by an archbishop 'who had a greater and more lasting impact on York Minster' than any other 'except Paulinus himself'.

York

Ronald Butler

**PONTEFRACT CASTLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS 1982-86.** By I. ROBERTS with numerous contributors. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. xii and 489. Figs 168. Pls 34. Tables 87. West Yorkshire Archaeology Service (Yorkshire Archaeology Series 8) Morley, 2002. Price: £31.50 plus £7 p.&p. ISBN 1 870543 28 and ISSN 0959-3500.

This report will be required reading for a wide range of students of the historic eras, whether they be interested in aspects of the Anglo-Saxon church and burial, the medieval castle or the Civil War. It cannot be an exposition of the entire archaeological sequence and evolution of settlement at Pontefract Castle, for the archaeological work upon which it is based was focused on excavating and recording deposits which had to be disturbed by the preservation and conservation of extant remains. This explains, for example, why so little can be said about the earliest Norman earthwork castle. Instead, however, Roberts and his contributing authors provide a substantial summary of current knowledge which can be quarried in pursuit of particular research themes, which will inform further research in Pontefract Castle and town, and which will influence a range of studies within Yorkshire and beyond.

Pontefract Castle was occupied successively by the de Lacys and Lancasters, was *caput* of the Honour of Pontefract and the administrative centre for its East Part, and was extensively rebuilt by John of Gaunt and the fifteenth-century Lancastrian kings. It is not surprising that there is a substantial body of documentary evidence for Pontefract Castle. This survey draws upon some of that data, and weaves it into the exposition of the castle's evolution, but there is much left to study.

There are few documentary references to pre-Norman *Tanshelf* or *Kirkeby*, but enough to couple with the excavated remains of a Late Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery, contemporary with that excavated 100 m to the east at The Booths, in order to suggest the presence of a minster (surely not a '*monastic centre*', p. 403) at the upper end of the promontory, with a hypothetical contemporary secular defended site below the medieval castle.

That castle is discussed area by area: notable are the sections on the chapels, and on the development of the unusually shaped keep which, it is suggested, originated as a shell keep with four projecting towers, enclosing the motte. Comparisons with nearby York and more distant Étampes are confirmed, although there is no reference to Étampes's much greater height. The circumstances of excavation mean that little can be said about the royal apartments.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when most castles were in decay, Pontefract remained



in use by the crown; its final hurrah was in the Civil War, when its garrison was the last to defy Parliament, and it endured three sieges. This Civil War episode, well-known from a variety of contemporary accounts, is strikingly illuminated by many facets of the archaeological record — counter-mines, prisoners' graffiti, human burials. There is too a significant assemblage of artefacts, discussed under the various 'material' headings. Lengthy contributions include that on Tobacco Pipes by Davey and White and that on Medieval and Later Pottery by Cumberpatch *et al.* This latter is likely to form a regional work of reference for some time to come, devoting as it does some fifty-five pages to reporting just over 11,000 sherds which are divided into an extensive type series of some 180 types and sub-types. It was necessary to illustrate only forty-eight vessels, as these are generally well known products. Whether another expert would subdivide some wares into the same number of sub-types (i.e. is this a 'repeatable' exercise?) and whether it is worth adopting this approach when, as Cumberpatch points out (p. 219), there is a need for analytical studies of some of the pottery fabrics, may be questioned. Noteworthy is a substantial group of leatherwork (mostly shoes), and richly coloured textile fragments which include remains of the opulent clothes of upper-rank royalists. Among the unusual items are a bowling ball and other wooden objects, part of an ivory horizontal compass dial, and a lathe-turned horn pot. More extended essays include a synthetic account by Wright on Pontefract's Civil War Siege Coinage, and a major discussion by Nicholas Hall on Arms, Armour and Militaria — an 'unrivalled assemblage allows a census of the kind of military equipment in use at the time of the Civil War'. There is also a suite of environmental evidence, and appendices which present a number of late medieval and post-medieval documents.

A final editorial read through the text would perhaps have removed the consistent sprinkling of mis-spellings and typographical errors, and saved the reader looking for 'vestments from an earlier period' (page 85, *recte* vestiges?); the index is not comprehensive (e.g. where are the casket fittings referred to in that same passage?) and rigorous checking of the bibliographic references should have corrected Ayres to Ayers. Many of the artefact illustrations deserve mention for their high standard.

There is much more to this volume than a short review can encompass but, in summary, this is a nationally significant report on a nationally significant monument. Furthermore, its reasonable price should help to ensure that it has the widespread national dissemination which it deserves (publishers of *Archaeology of Wells Cathedral*, take note).

York Archaeological Trust

R. A. Hall

**MONASTIC SPACES AND THEIR MEANINGS: THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH CISTERCIAN MONASTERIES.** By MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH. 24.5 x 16 cm. Pp. xvi and 296. Illus 49. Brepols, Turnhout, 2001. Price: €50. ISBN 2 503 51089 2.

Readers of a cautious disposition will find that the best introduction to this work is to start with the Epilogue. This summarises the themes under discussion attractively and lucidly without the considerable reliance upon social theory, which makes the Introduction and the first chapter such heavy going for the uninitiated. The jargon of theory is definitely an acquired taste aimed at a converted audience. If the Epilogue proves sufficiently convincing, then the reader should tackle the remaining chapters, which usually concentrate upon a walled space within the precinct and explore its use and meaning. There are normally three aspects to the discussion of physical and mental landscapes: the social theory based upon Foucault, the visible evidence of the surviving structures in Yorkshire, and the documented evidence of Cistercian statutes, exemplars, chronicles, biographies and poetry. All are skilfully assembled to provide an interpretation of each building's meaning.

Meaning is a deeper search than mere purpose and use. Therefore the cloister focuses on the theme of enclosure, the chapter-house prompts a discussion of monastic discipline, the church combines spiritual visions and heavenly space. Other chapters concentrate upon the infirmary and on the lay brother, with the two chapters on apostasy and on death less firmly rooted in one specific space. However all the themes are well explored with an extensive bibliography of contem-



porary texts (1150–1300) and recent interpretative literature. The author introduces the reader to major Cistercian writers, such as Ailred of Rievaulx and Stephen of Sawley, but also to minor authors like Matthew, precentor of Rievaulx.

This survey provides a wide range of topics for discussion. Only the Cistercian nuns and their convents are deliberately excluded, apart from a passing reference to Swine and to the suggestion that the cloister was less confining for women than it was for men. The author is familiar with recent architectural studies, though Stuart Harrison's guidebooks and articles have been omitted from the bibliography. There are occasional misprints such as Saltrey and Beverley for Sawtry and Bewerley, and one might dispute the view that Leeds and Ripon are not too far from Rievaulx. Dr Cassidy-Welch does not explore whether the earliest infirmaries might have been timber-framed on a stone sill-base. Her comment that nothing remains of the lay brothers' dormitories is contradicted by the evidence from Fountains and Kirkstall. The well-chosen range of photographs, mostly the author's, is not best served by poor quality reproduction and a tendency for the captions to be at variance with the actual arrangement of photographs on each page. Despite these criticisms the author has fully justified her decision to concentrate upon Yorkshire's Cistercian (male) houses as a regional entity. By taking a different line of approach with strong emphasis upon local contemporary literature, she has given fresh insights into monastic life, its thought and its meaning.

Cambridge

Lawrence Butler

**ILKLEY: HISTORY AND GUIDE.** By MIKE DIXON. 24 x 17 cm. Pp. 128. Illus 200+ (incl. 31 col. pls). Tempus Publishing, Stroud, 2002. Price: £12.99. ISBN 0 7524 2603 6.

**PRE-VICTORIAN ILKLEY 1672–1811.** By MAY F. PICKLES. 21 x 14.5 cm. Pp. vi and 49. Illus 10. Mid-Wharfedale Local History Research Group, Ilkley, 2002. Price: £4. ISBN 0 9533693 1-5.

These are two very different books on Ilkley. There is room for both.

The first, which will give pleasure to many, is lavishly illustrated, in part from the author's collection. Mr Dixon has not attempted to be academic but has, with ample acknowledgement, used recent research, including that of Mrs Pickles. He goes back to the earliest times but naturally there is much on Victorian development. This includes 'Ichley Spaw' and the regime which was followed in the belief that cold water inside and out will cure anything. It seems incredible that intelligent people, such as Charles Darwin, paid to be subjected to this, especially bearing in mind that Ilkley then offered few opportunities for dissipation. The history of the Victorian buildings and institutions, which the writer knows so well, is continued into the twentieth century, but we lack a general treatment of the town and its community in post-Victorian and more recent times. This might have been preferable to some of the occasionally remorseless detail, such as Prince Charles staying twice at the Troutbeck in 1970.

May Pickles's booklet is the second in a series of which the first was *The Early History of the Society of Friends in Mid-Wharfedale and Craven*. This one deals with the last two centuries of a small agrarian community before the coming of the railway and the development of a spa-town. Inevitably there is some overlap with Mr Dixon. Both exploit the occupational information in the parish registers and describe Ilkley's shortlived venture into textiles. Mrs Pickles provides a substantial chapter of parish history, scholarly in both writing and argument and far from parochial in approach. Population movements are, as one would expect from a demographer, placed in a wide context. Likewise a study of houses and their contents considers the surrounding part of Wharfedale.

The booklet lacks the glossy illustrations which Tempus allowed Mr Dixon but is agreeably produced. A weakness, though not all would so regard it, may be in the appendix of selected inventories. Their content is valuable and the writer's summary derived from a larger number (pp. 24–29) is not to be questioned. These transcripts, however, have the look of copies in which modernised and original spellings are mingled and odd words possibly misread. A short glossary, too, might have been welcomed by readers unfamiliar with such documents. Nevertheless this is an important addition to a series from which more good things can be expected.



MEDIEVAL SCARBOROUGH: STUDIES IN TRADE AND CIVIC LIFE. Edited by DAVID CROUCH and TREVOR PEARSON. 30 x 21 cm. Pp. 124. Illus 32. Tables 4. YAS Occasional Paper 1. YAS and Scarborough Archaeological and Historical History, 2001. Price: £15 (£10 to YAS members). ISBN 0 902122 96 7.

Scarborough history has been ever fortunate in its times of misfortune. The most substantial recent History (Rowntree, 1931) was rescued from the slump of that day by the personal generosity of Rowntree — himself a major contributor — and of those in the subscription list memorialised in the reader-worn copy on the shelves of the YAS library. The present work, although much smaller than that of seventy years ago, was caught in a much more recent tempest — the cause left vague in the editorial Introduction — but rescued by a joint investment in local history by the YAS, the town Society and the ever-generous charity of the Marc Fitch Fund, which knows nothing of county boundaries.

These studies follow in that 1931 tradition by having the editor(s) reappearing in full authorial roles for no fewer than four of the twelve chapters. The benevolent hands of P. R. and J. E. Wilson as series editor and copy editor are also acknowledged: the former is announced as one of the two editors of a forthcoming *Archaeology and Historic Landscapes of the Yorkshire Dales: Recent Work*, so that readers of this *Journal* can look forward to having an ‘Occ Pap 2 [sic]’ on their shelves alongside their *Scarborough*, with its contents controlled and its typography and format presented with the standard of care evidenced here: a most promising beginning for the Society’s new series.

Indeed the beginning precedes page i: the stiff cover bears a striking colour photograph of Scarborough from the air taken by A. Crawshaw on 28 July 1992 and reproduced in a quality which colour photographs rarely achieve, even when on sale as seaside postcards. All the major topographical elements that will reappear in the main text are displayed there: the great headland which drew successive castle builders; the town streets below it in the form appropriate for a mercantile town; the protective arms of the sea; the great parish church; and even the empty spaces within the walls, which betoken the lesson that, like the tides, a medieval town’s prosperity might ebb and flow.

What have the various practitioners brought to the study of local history that gives them more to say than was possible seventy years ago? On some issues there is still sea-mist curling round the headland: ‘there is no more real proof substantiating [Vilmundarsson’s] theory than . . . E. V. Gordon’s hypothesis concerning Scarborough and Flamborough. But nor is there any less proof’ (Arnold on ‘The Legendary Origins of Scarborough’). Another, this time a land-mist, blows to and fro over the placing of the site of Falsgrave, the manor within whose territory the castle and borough were to be founded (Pearson on ‘Falsgrave Soke and Settlement’, rejecting any hope of locating it through the study of nineteenth-century topography, although boldly producing a map ‘reconstruction’ of medieval Falsgrave in Figure 22).

In his second paper Pearson makes a substantial contribution in his study of ‘The Topography of the Medieval Borough’, beginning with the fortuitous appearance (as the PRO progresses with the publication of its *Calendars of Curia Regis Rolls*) of a jury’s verdict showing that both the old and new boroughs were the creation of Henry II, and then bringing together scattered information about town-building ambitions along the east coast, making the development of Scarborough part of a regional development, a theme which also occurs in Dalton’s explication of origins to set alongside the ‘Legendary’ ones.

Yet it would be unfair to leave the impression that progress in the last seventy years has rested solely on a few lucky dips into the archives. Rarely has something given me such pleasure as browsing through the notes in this relatively short book and meeting monographs and articles (some by old acquaintances) which, without having Scarborough in their title, prove to be not at all out of place in bringing the historiography of Trade and Civic Life in Medieval Scarborough in the post-Rowntree years up to date. Let me cite only Dalton (1994), Edwards (1966), English (1979), Waites (1977), and of course the neighbouring *VCH East Riding* (1969).

Clearly, the exploration of urban hinterlands is adding realism to histories, especially in places and periods (indeed, as in Scarborough itself) where the municipal records of particular towns are scanty. It is the comparison with other trading towns that makes Childs’s ‘Mercantile Scarborough’ so instructive and impressive an essay, especially when presented in the context of



a formidable trawl through the not inconsiderable bulk of manuscript customs accounts from Scarborough itself.

It is regretted that there is not space here to do more than list the chapters on 'Markets, Mills and Tolls' (Daniell and Bould), 'Domestic Architecture' (Hall) and 'Scarborough's Medieval Pottery Industry' (Normandale).

The whole volume is dedicated to the late Professor Lawrence Hoey of the University of Milwaukee, author of the well-illustrated chapter on the medieval architecture of Scarborough's parish church. He had written of it: 'Even in its compromised modern condition it testifies both to the importance of the medieval town and to the creativity of English parish church masons.'

*Leeds*

*Maurice Beresford*

**MOTHER SHIPTON WITCH AND PROPHETESS.** By ARNOLD KELLETT. 22 x 14.5 cm. Pp. xii and 160. Illus 27. George Mann Books, Maidstone, 2002. Price: £7.95. ISBN 0 7041 0402 4.

Mother Shipton was first mentioned in print in 1641. Ursula Soothtell, wife of Toby Shipton (c. 1488–1561), is said to have prophesied that Cardinal Wolsey would never enter York for his enthronement as archbishop, planned for November 1530. Wolsey sent the Duke of Suffolk, Lords Percy and Darcy, plus Mr Beseley, into York to question her. Other predictions relate to the rebuilding of Ouse Bridge (1565) and the piped water supply to the city (1616). Successive accounts of the prophecies attributed to Mother Shipton, constantly increasing in detail, appeared until 1922. Some were obviously composed after the event and some never happened, such as a siege of York in which all the civic officials were hanged or the end of the world in 1881.

Dr Kellett examines the prophecies and discusses other locations for Mother Shipton (Winslow cum Shipton, Bucks, Somerset and Norfolk). By the early nineteenth century her birthplace was located near Low Bridge, Knaresborough, but the Dropping Well, visited by Leland in 1538, and cave were not definitely associated with her until 1849. Dr Kellett thinks that the first pamphlets could preserve the memory of a locally famous Yorkshire seer, though he missed the mention in James Ryther's letter of 1589 to Lord Burghley: '[Shi]pton which was a late prophetesse amonge them' (147, 56 (1984), p. 104, n. 34). The illustrations are mainly of the witch in crude engravings from the pamphlets, as a puppet and a pantomime character, but include views of the cave and well, and her alleged tombstone in Somerset (a Roman inscription).

This lively and discursive book will tell enquirers all they need to know about Mother Shipton and it has a good bibliography, including the pamphlet of 1642 calling her 'Sibylla Eboracensis' and that of 1667 by Richard Head, an Irish pornographer.

*York*

*Ronald Butler*

**THE COURT ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF WAKEFIELD FROM SEPTEMBER 1687 TO SEPTEMBER 1688.** Edited and calendared by G. M. FRASER. 21 x 14.5 cm. Pp. xx and 210. Map 1. Wakefield Court Rolls Series, vol. XIII for 2001. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, 2002. Price: £15 (£12 to subscribers) plus £2.50 p.&p. ISBN 1 9035 6400 X.

Not all previous volumes in this series have been reviewed here, but this is an ambitious publishing enterprise. The territories of the manor of Wakefield extend some 40 km from east to west and 30 km from north to south, and the records of its court run from 1274 to 1925. Court rolls down to 1331 and the manor book of 1709 were published in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, and in 1974 the Wakefield Court Rolls Section of the YAS was established to continue this work. It was decided not to publish the rolls in sequence, so that the volumes so far in print cover parts of the fourteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this latest volume being the fifth for the seventeenth century. It is possible to argue that this may not be the best or quickest way of making the contents of the court rolls generally available.

This thirteenth volume comprises the court roll for 1687–88, rendered into English, together with the ancillary documents attached to the draft version of the roll. Transactions involving



copyhold land constituted a large part of the court's business, and there are 169 such transactions in the period covered here. In addition, courts leet held at Wakefield, Halifax, Brighouse and Kirkburton dealt with ditches, fences, lesser roads, livestock and minor affrays, as in other manors.

These records furnish a wealth of material for local and family historians. There is naturally much information about landholding, with an abundance of placenames. Evidence of local industry occurs in references to coal pits and woolshops and in the occupations mentioned: one transfer of copyhold was from a tanner and a wheelwright to a collier. Details of families can be gleaned from the copyhold business: when young William Cockell inherited a cottage and land in Horbury from an uncle, his father, a Wakefield apothecary, paid 12*d.* for custody of the lad and his property until he came of age, while Joseph Burnett was to inherit his father's estate in Durkar (*Dirtcarr* in the text) provided he did not marry Mary Brookesbanck.

The editing, by the general editor of the series, is careful and scholarly. There are indexes of persons, places and subjects, but the choice of subjects is idiosyncratic, and there are oddities among the placenames, in particular the decision to precede some names, including Outwood in Wakefield, with *le* as they appear in the Latin text and list them under L.

Publication of the 1688–89 roll is promised, so the seventeenth century is going to be well represented.

**WOOLLEN MANUFACTURING IN YORKSHIRE. THE MEMORANDUM BOOKS OF JOHN BREARLEY, CLOTH FRIZZER AT WAKEFIELD 1758–1762.** Edited by JOHN SMAIL. 23.5 x 15.5 cm. Pp. xxi and 143. YAS Record Series vol. CLV for 1999 and 2001. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2001. Price: £50. ISBN 0 902122 88 6.

Beneath the surface of this unstructured collection of jottings by a mid-eighteenth-century artisan lies a potentially valuable perspective on the contemporary woollen industry. John Brearley, a Yorkshire-based cloth finisher of Lancashire origin, possessed unusually wide knowledge of the national manufacture and marketing of woollen goods, which, though noted in erratic form, nevertheless provides a significant gloss to received wisdom on the early industrial woollen trade. His observation that, far from operating in distinct markets, the Yorkshire and the West Country trade in fact overlapped and to some extent competed, is one of several that has informed Smail's scholarship elsewhere. Also significant is Brearley's perception of the possible variations within cloth making and finishing which reveal the importance of fashion at this early stage, a factor neglected by historians. Although Brearley's writings do not indicate a reinterpretation of the mid-eighteenth-century wool textile industry, for those willing to persevere, they suggest new emphases.

Brearley's two volumes, reproduced in abridged form here, also provide valuable social and economic context to one of Yorkshire's foremost trades. Some insight is offered into the nature of contemporary technical knowledge and the process of innovation. Brearley's own inventive efforts, naively illustrated, are simultaneously edifying and entertaining. Other entries to the memorandum books in which Brearley collected random thoughts add local colour, which, while not directly informative, nevertheless generates a sense of what life was like at that time and place.

Smail's succinct introduction to this edition provides a useful framework to understanding the history of the Yorkshire woollen industry, and highlights the most relevant elements of Brearley's volumes. Smail's identifiers are vital given the mass of extraneous material that has survived his culling of the text, which has been reduced to around 60 per cent of the original length. His selection criteria included the unexceptionable removal of unnecessary repetition (only partially successfully executed) and the more regrettable deletion of detailed descriptions of the milling and dyeing of cloth. Uninformed views on the nature of women and Methodists, and 'recipes' for Yorkshire culinary delicacies and medical remedies remain. In editing this volume Smail has revealed his close acquaintance with the text, yet while he has accurately replicated the words of Brearley, little is offered in the way of textual analysis. Brearley was a man of unceasing inquisitiveness, who probed and contemplated, who tinkered and created, but who was also opinionated. Although Smail has shown elsewhere the use that can be made of such writings — indeed this present volume is clearly a by-product of his earlier work — he has assumed its accuracy. Some



assessment of the reliability of the musings of an individual, whose objectivity is at best suspect, would have been welcome.

*University of Leeds*

*Katrina Honeyman*

**THE DIARY OF A YORKSHIRE GENTLEMAN: JOHN COURTNEY OF BEVERLEY, 1759–1768.** Edited by SUSAN & DAVID NEAVE. 25.4 x 17.5 cm. Pp. x and 175. Illus 17. Smith Settle, Otley, 2001. Price: £21.95 (hbk), £15.95 (pbk). ISBN 1 85825 150 8 (hbk); 1 85825 171 0 (pbk).

This attractively produced publication is of two of the four surviving diaries of John Courtney held by the University of Hull Archives (DPX/60/1–4). The remaining two concern the period 1788–1805 and will be published later. Courtney was twenty-five years old when he began to keep the record, and these diaries end with John's marriage.

Courtney appears to have kept a diary largely to record his financial and legal affairs but also included his social activities. Some of the more repetitive matters and bills have been omitted by the editors, who have contributed extensive and informative notes concerning places and persons and a good index. They have, however, provided little analysis of the wider context of Courtney's life. At the very least on his first meeting with Mary Smelt the reader could have been informed that she was ultimately to become his wife. Since the editors have worked for ten years on this diary and have consulted other related records the reader might also have benefited from their more speculative insights.

A Cambridge law graduate, Courtney led the life of a gentleman of means, overseeing property and investments on his own behalf and that of his close relations. In addition he was a speculator in a number of the new turnpike trusts. His social round was informed by his own musicality, and his search for a wife. He attended fashionable assemblies, concerts and plays. He sang, danced and played cards. Interestingly, he purchased a small desk organ for his own use, in addition to the harpsichord he already possessed. With professional musicians he held concerts in his own home. When in Leeds he made a point of arranging to play the organ in the Parish Church. In seeking out a suitable bride he was drawn to much younger women and suffered numerous unsuccessful courtships. A mystery surrounds his lack of success. Many hurdles had to be overcome, however, not least the acceptance of the extended family.

Geographically his world was centred on Beverley where he lived. He was a subscriber to the new assembly room. There were occasional visits to York, Hull, Leeds, Scarborough, Harrogate and London. In the summer of 1766 he ventured, with his mother, on a lengthy tour of the country via London, where he bought his own post chaise, and returned home via Bath and Bristol.

The Diary is an entertaining read and a most valuable addition to the published sources on gentry life in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the eighteenth century.

*West Yorkshire Archive Service*

*Brett Harrison*

**BRETTON, THE BEAUMONTS AND A BUREAUCRACY: A WEST YORKSHIRE ESTATE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.** By S. J. WRIGHT. 21 x 15 cm. Pp. 227. Figs 6. Pls 8. Diagrams 2. Wakefield Historical Publications, 2001. Price: £9.99. ISBN 0 901869 43 0.

This interesting book discusses aspects of the history of Bretton Hall and its grounds, and of the wider estate which supported them. Both the house and the park were developed and several times altered throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most notably by the energetic and forceful Diana Beaumont who inherited in 1792. She was an unlikely heiress, the illegitimate daughter of the last in a succession of Bretton baronets, Sir Thomas Wentworth (later Blackett). Like the house and park, the family estate demanded a great deal of attention, especially as it had been vastly extended when the Wentworths of Bretton inherited the Blackett lands in 1777. Both the Wentworth and the Blackett lands were rich in minerals, and the late eighteenth-century estate included property at Wibsey (near Bradford), leased for coal-mining to the spectacularly profitable



Low Moor Iron Company. This lease led to a long-running dispute, and brought into prominence a succession of agents and lawyers, the bureaucracy of the title.

The narrative therefore touches on architectural and landscape history and on the administration of industrial property, subjects of great relevance to the history of the West Riding. It is a mine of information, especially as the manuscript references are carefully given. But the complexities of all aspects are confusing, and considerable labour is required to interpret the information. The reader would have been helped by more references to a wider context, and by a clearer focus in the writing. Also those who are unfamiliar with Bretton would find it useful to have more maps and other illustrations than the modest format of the book allows; numerous plans and photographs illustrate Dr Wright's article on the house at Bretton, in *YAJ* 72 (2000), which should perhaps be regarded as a supplement. Small complaints are that the maps and other figures are not listed, which makes them hard to find, and that the summary in the introduction includes verbatim repetition of material given elsewhere.

However, I expect to find it a useful book, and I imagine that those associated with Bretton will be delighted that Dr Wright has published the results of his researches.

Leeds

Ann Alexander

WATER MILLS AND FURNACES ON THE YORKSHIRE DEARNE AND ITS TRIBUTARIES. By TOM UMPLEBY. 29.5 x 21 cm. Pp. vi and 254. Illus 120. Figs 14. Tables 9. Wakefield Historical Publications, vol. 39. Wakefield, 2000. Price: £35 (plus £4.50 p.&p.). ISBN 0 901869 42 2.

The important bulk of this useful book is in the extended gazetteer into which Tom Umpleby has gathered all the information he could find on the seventy-three watermill sites he has identified on some 90 miles of streams in the Dearne catchment. It is topped and tailed by some short chapters which set the scene and present statistics; these could have been better consolidated into a single essay in which questions might have been asked and conclusions drawn. There is not enough data on river flows or falls to estimate potential or practical power outputs for particular sites. The inclusion of 'furnaces' in the title seems to be a relic of the work's origin in the Sheffield University extramural department: waterpowered ironworks sites are treated no differently from other locations.

The Dearne, a tributary of the Don, has a relatively small and low catchment. With Huddersfield and the Holme valley to the west it was never wet enough, high enough or perhaps clean enough to attract public supply impounding reservoirs, though a few canal and ornamental dams were made. The predominant use of water power was for grain milling. Unlike the Calder streams to the north where textiles dominated, and the Don to the south full with iron mills, the Dearne was never an industrial river. Altogether Umpleby records fourteen textile uses with never more than eight at any one time. One wonders why so few; but this, or any other such question, is never discussed. The area was not much industrialised until the exploitation of Barnsley coal in the later nineteenth century, an activity in which water power was little used. By then local cornmilling was of waning importance for the supply of industrial populations. The chronology of this decline is probably in the gazetteer, but again readers are left to ask their own questions. This unwillingness to ask questions leads to difficulties. The entry for the enigmatic Low Mill Furnace on Silkstone Beck is a case in point. It looks like and ought to be a typical eighteenth-century charcoal blast furnace, and in the 1930s Arthur Raistrick thought it was. Yet the documentary evidence does not start until the early nineteenth century (and there is a little earlier negative evidence). There is a case to be made for it being entirely of that century, the presence of what seem to be firebrick springings in a tuyère arch not being mentioned. The quoted extract from the ancient monument schedule clearly indicates that the scheduler was unfamiliar with ironworking technology, and that should ring cautionary bells. None of this is discussed. The references here are muddled too. The 1939 Raistrick and Allen paper is to be found in *Economic History Review* rather than the later *Industrial Archaeology Review*; and whilst Baker's 1940 paper with its measured drawing of this furnace



may well, as this book claims, have been read before the Iron and Steel Institute it is more accessible in *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, 24 (1944) 113–20.

All this said, the book is full of useful information and one must applaud the considerable energy applied by a mature man, after retirement, in gathering it. A saving grace is that the whole work is very thoroughly referenced and the location of primary sources made clear. This, then, is a book about what and when, not about how and why. As such it will be an important quarry for those asking larger or more local questions for years to come.

Rochdale

W. Slatcher

**‘ONE GREAT WORKSHOP’: THE BUILDINGS OF THE SHEFFIELD METAL TRADES.** By NICOLA WRAY, BOB HAWKINS and COLUM GILES. 21 x 21 cm. Pp. 54. Illus 83, mostly colour. English Heritage, London, 2001. Price: £5. ISBN 1 873592 66 3.

This attractively-produced booklet celebrates Sheffield's former pre-eminence as a world centre of steel production and cutlery and edge-tool manufacture. Fifty years ago every household in the country possessed something made in Sheffield and the city's products could be found all over the world, especially in the British Empire. The east end of Sheffield was the nation's major steel producer, supplying the materials for the railway and armaments industries. Steel and cutlery are still made in large quantities in the city but the workforce has been substantially reduced and much of the distinctive industrial landscape has disappeared in recent times. This English Heritage publication is a timely reminder of what is worth preserving.

Some remarkable industrial buildings survive intact. The Abbeydale Industrial Hamlet (now functioning again as one of Britain's finest industrial museums) illustrates water power, the manufacture of scythes and the crucible method of steel production. The cutlery industry is represented by Shepherd's Wheel (a remarkably complete example of water-powered grinding), Butcher's Wheel (steam-powered grinding), Globe Works (an early integrated factory), the Eye Witness Works (a surviving and flourishing firm) and much more, especially in that part of the city alongside Sheffield Hallam University, which was laid out in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Other trades are demonstrated by Hoole's Green Lane Works (a foundry), Dixon's Cornish Works (an electroplating factory), a file-cutting workshop at Ecclesfield, a rural forge at Sykehouse, the Low Matlock rolling mill and Daniel Doncaster's steel cementation furnace (the only complete survivor of the 260 such furnaces of the Victorian borough). Many of the large steel works of the east end have gone (Hadfield's East Hecla Works has been replaced by the Meadowhall shopping centre) or are derelict, but surviving buildings include Firth's former Gun Shop in Savile Street and the River Don Works, where Vickers' cast steel.

Old and modern prints and photographs of excellent quality and cut-away reconstructions of buildings give this booklet an immediate appeal. Written by experts for non-specialists, its interest will not be confined to a local audience. An introductory historical sketch of the development of local industries is followed by pithy accounts of the methods of manufacture, the stages of production, business organisation, types of buildings, and working conditions. Each page is illustrated with relevant examples.

Dronfield

David Hey

**RURAL ENGLAND: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE LANDSCAPE.** Edited by JOAN THIRSK. 23.5 x 17 cm. Pp. 352. Illus 90. Col. pls 8. Maps 13. Oxford University Press, 2002. Price: £16.99. ISBN 0-19-860619-2.

Though the title has been changed (why?) this is a paperback version of *The English Rural Landscape* which appeared in 2000. There are fifteen chapters preceded by a stimulating introduction by Joan Thirsk, who sees 'a bright and expanding prospect for landscape history, promising to take it in yet new directions'. The eighteen contributors include Bernard Jennings on the Wolds, David Hey on 'Moorland' and Barry Harrison on Staintondale, while Charles Phythian-Adams's treat-

ment of 'Frontier Valleys' includes Teesdale. Yorkshire, therefore, is well represented. These are important studies. The book is well produced and, apart from some pale photographs, well illustrated.

**HERITAGE HIKES: YORKSHIRE — VOLUME 1.** 21 x 13 cm. Folder with 6 cards. London, English Heritage, 2001. Price: £5.95. ISBN 1-85074-799-7.

A heritage hike is a walk which has an English Heritage property on the route and allows time to visit it. The six properties which can be visited on these walks are Byland, Middleham Castle, Mount Grace, Whitby Abbey, Wharham Percy and Rievaulx. For each walk a card encased in plastic supplies necessary information, including a small map and a description of the route. The walks, all circular, seem well planned, and information is given clearly.

**WHITBY ABBEY.** By JOHN GOODALL. 26 x 21 cm. Pp. 32. Colour illus. London, English Heritage, 2002. Price: £2.95. ISBN 1-85074-787-3.

Publication of this new guide book coincides with the opening of the visitor centre at Whitby in the former Abbey House, which was developed by the Cholmley family from the abbot's lodging. The first part of the book is a guide to the abbey, which takes recent archaeological work into account, and following this is a history from the time of Abbess Hild to the present day, with panels supplying information on other topics relating to Whitby including, inevitably, Bram Stoker and *Dracula*. A reproduction of Turner's view of the abbey and town is one of many excellent illustrations.

**ENGLISH EPISCOPAL ACTA, 24: DURHAM 1153-1195.** Edited by M. G. SNAPE. 24 x 16 cm. Pp. lxxvi and 185. Pls 8. Oxford University Press, 2002. Price: £45. ISBN 0-19-726234-1.

This volume contains the acta of Bishop Hugh of Le Puiset, 140 in all, plus references to forty-six more, a large proportion being concerned with the temporalities of the see. There are deeds relating to tithes in Northallerton and Howden, where the bishops had estates, and a quitclaim to the parson of Howden, but there are more items relating to Yorkshire religious houses, especially Kirkham, Rievaulx and St Mary's, York. Many of the acta have already appeared in print, but some are new and some have not been published in full before. The work displays scholarship of a high standard, as one would expect. Volume 25 will continue with the acta of the next three bishops of Durham and contain indexes to both volumes.

**LOCKTON REMEMBERED: MEMORIES OF A MOORLAND VILLAGE IN THE EARLY 1900s.** Edited by RUTH STRONG. 15 x 21 cm. Pp. 86. Illus 48. Maps 2. Blacksmith House Publications, c/o Blacksmith House, Lockton, 2000. Price: £5.50. ISBN 0 9536031 1 3.

Ruth Strong, already known for her work on Pudsey, has turned to a very different place. Lockton is a long narrow township east of the Hole of Horcum and the North Yorkshire Moors Railway, the village itself being five miles north of Pickering. The reminiscences of thirty-two residents covering the first half of the twentieth century are complemented by photographs lent by private owners and museums, and the project has been subsidised by an enlightened Parish Council. The editor's commentary is brief but thoroughly researched, and the book is skilfully arranged and well produced.

This is a world of horses, steam thrashing, four-course rotation, shared clipping and dipping the sheep, moorland foxes, girls going into service, boys to the hiring fair at Pickering, no piped water, camphorated oil, goosegrease and teeth pulled by the blacksmith, sheepshead broth, dumplings and rabbit stew, hard winters with tramps to school in wet clothes and clog boots, teachers' canes hardened up the blacksmith's chimney and visits from the kidcatcher. At Christmas there was 'frumitty' and lucky birding by the boys on Christmas day and the girls at New Year. In war



time there were the Home Guard and POWs and later Fylingdales, which brought better snow-ploughs. 'The thirties were the worst. When the war came everything started to get better.'

Ruth Strong and her collaborators have created a fascinating portrait of their community worth more than several shelves of archives.





All communications about the editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the new editor, Jill Wilson, Stables Cottage, 331 Havant Road, Farlington, Portsmouth, PO6 1DD. Tel. 023-9237-0649, e-mail [pandjwilson@btopenworld.com](mailto:pandjwilson@btopenworld.com). Contributions should be prepared in accordance with the Notes for Contributors printed in volume 72 (2000). A copy of these may be had from the Editor, who will be happy to discuss informally any proposed article on the archaeology or history of the historic county of Yorkshire in any period.

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Enquiries about the Society's publications should be addressed to the Sales Officer, at **Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ**, from whom a List of Publications, regularly updated, may be obtained. Volumes of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* from vol. 62 (1990) at present cost £8 (members) and £12 (non-members), with £2.50 postage and packing. For prices of earlier issues and offprints of recent articles, please apply to the Sales Officer.

The Society's other publications include:

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In addition, some Sections of the Society produce regular publications, which may also be obtained from Claremont.

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